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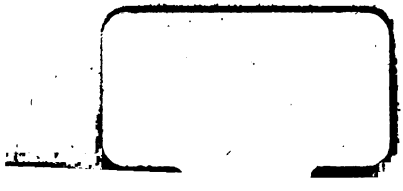

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LOUIS-PHILIPPE.

CAREER

OF

LOUIS-PHILIPPE:

With a full Account

OF

THE LATE REVOLUTION.

BY

D. WEMYSS JOBSON, ESQ.

AUTHOR OF "HISTORY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1789."

LONDON:

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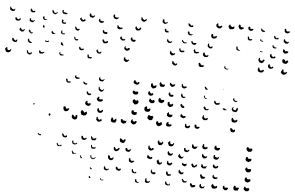

CAREER OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE.

THE remarkable man who has just disappeared from the throne of France, and been doomed to present in his person and career an instance so memorable of regal as well as human vicissitudes, is the eldest son of Louis-Philippe-Joseph, Duke of Orleans, the celebrated *Egalité*, and was born in Paris, the 6th of October, 1773. His father was first prince of the blood under the ancient *régime*, and however much of infamy is attached to his name, for suspected cowardice and undoubted profligacy before the Revolution, and equally unquestioned imbecility and baseness after it, he is entitled to the merit of having selected a judicious course in the education of his offspring. Louis-Philippe is said to have been an illegitimate—some even add a substituted—child; but in the absence of satisfactory proof, we may wave all credence in the report that he was the spurious issue of an Italian jailor, adopted by the Duchess of Orleans, either when in despair of a son, or, according to other rumours, to indulge her own and resent her husband's passions; for even when a brother, and undoubted heir, who died in London in 1806, was afterwards born, the subject of this memoir was recognised as the future representative of the family, and trained with the same care as the others. The celebrated Madame de Genlis was entrusted with the superintendence of their education; and assuredly this was of an order different from that usually observed or recorded in the instance of princes. The children, including even Madame Adelaide, the sister

lately deceased, were trained to every species of robust and hardy exercise, accustomed to walk many miles each day, and to sleep on a pallias of straw, fare on the simplest food, and pursue a course of mental discipline equally vigorous; a system under which, if tender constitutions would have sunk, the healthy frames of Louis-Philippe and his sister undoubtedly prospered, as, indeed, has been indicated by the strong and vigorous temperaments which they long exhibited, and retained till an unusually advanced period of life.

A sketch of him at this early age, by his governess, may possibly, at the present day, excite a smile. "The disposition of the Duke of Chartres," remarks Madame de Genlis, "has of late greatly improved. Naturally well-inclined, he has now become intelligent and virtuous. Without any of the frivolities of his age, he disdains the puerilities which engage the attention of so many of our contemporaneous youth—fashion, dress, gewgaws, folly of every species, and desire of novelty. He has no passion for money, but is disinterested, despising glare, and truly noble. Finally," says the enthusiastic lady, "he has an excellent heart, in common with his brother and sister, and this, joined to reflection, is capable of producing every other good quality."

The following is added in the journal whence this extract is taken, and seems equally anile, though it may be deemed but impartial to add it:—"The health of the duchess having been much improved by the waters of the Sauvenière—a spring a few miles from the town, in the midst of pleasing scenery—the Duke of Chartres and his brothers and sister, prompted by their instructress—resolved on giving a gay and commemorative *fête*. Round the spring they formed a beautiful walk, removed the stones and rocks which were in the way, and caused it to be ornamented with seats, with small bridges placed over the torrents, and covered the surrounding woods with charming shrubs in flower. At the end of the walk conducting to the spring whose waters had been so efficacious, was a kind of little wood, which had an opening looking out upon a precipice remarkable for its height, and for being covered with majestic piles of rock and trees. Beyond it was a landscape of great extent and beauty. In the wood was raised by the duke and his brothers and sister an altar

to 'GRATITUDE,' of white marble, on which was the following inscription:—'The waters of the Sauvenière having restored the health of the Duchess of Orleans, her children have embellished the neighbourhood of its springs, and have themselves traced the walks and cleared the woods with more assiduity than the workmen who laboured under their orders.' On the *fête* day in question, the young Duke of Chartres expressed with grace and effect his filial sentiments of devotedness and love, but suddenly left the side of his mother, and appeared with his brothers and sister, a few seconds afterwards, at the foot of the altar, himself holding a chisel in his hand, and appearing to be writing in it the word '*Gratitude.*' The effect was magical; all present were at once charmed and touched; and many a cheek was bedewed with pleasurable tears."

The good opinion seems to have been reciprocal. In a letter to Madame de Genlis, written at this period, he says, —" Oh, my mother, how I bless you for having preserved me from all those vices and misfortunes, (too often incident to youth,) by inspiring me with that sense of religion which has been my whole support."

It may be premised, however, that the policy of the parent Duke of Orleans at this period dictated an appearance of liberality, in opposition to the forced parsimony and apparently heartless conduct of the French court. Maria Antoinette had shortly before been compromised by the diamond necklace affair, which disclosed her poverty, as well as blighted her character; and he himself was burning with resentment at dismissal from the naval service, in consequence of some miserable pusillanimity, if not open cowardice, which he exhibited in a naval action off Cape Ushant, when he was accused of having hid himself in the hold, in the first instance, and afterwards of running away with his division, and leaving D'Orvilliers, the second in command, to his fate. Having consequently been dismissed with ignominy from the post of grand admiral, as well as the naval service, he adopted the extraordinary expedient of alternately ascending in balloons and descending into mines, with the view of acquiring a factitious character for courage; but this only giving rise to the sarcastic remark, that "the elements only could bear witness to his courage," he changed his course for that of extreme pro-

fusion. To regain popularity, he caused his children to exhibit the same extravagance he practised himself. His eldest son was, with this view, despatched ostentatiously to St. Michel, in Normandy, during the year 1788, to purchase, at considerable expense, a celebrated iron cage, in which some unhappy Dutch journalist had been seventeen years confined, for writing a lampoon against Louis XIV.; and the instrument of torture was afterwards publicly broken up with much ceremony, in order at once to chime in with the rising spirit of freedom, and to throw obloquy on the reigning king. It has been said, but never satisfactorily established, that the young duke, in the following year, accompanied his father when, in the opprobrious disguise of a woman,* he witnessed the savage attack on the palace of Versailles, on the 5th of October, 1789,—that day which, in the elequent language of Burke, was calculated to "make the sun hide his lustre;" and certain it is that, in a journal by Louis-Philippe's own hand, we have an acknowledgment, that on the first of November, 1790, he was not only "admitted a member of the Jacobins, and much applauded," but "returned thanks for the kind reception with which they were good enough to favour him." It need scarcely be added, that in all "the sacred duties of a good citizen and a good patriot" to which he pledged himself on this occasion, he was exemplarily faithful, in the acceptation then bestowed upon the terms. His zeal, indeed, carried him so far, that on the presentation of an obscure manuscript by a writer named Towers, in answer to Burke's celebrated "Reflections on the French Revolution," he engaged to purchase it up, and pass off a translation as an original work of his own. A M. de Noailles, who acted as agent on the occasion, had even paid the money, and all was in readiness, when the affair reaching Egalité's ears, he caused the negotiation to be broken off, and the translation suspended; either lest the affair should be detected and involve him in fresh ridicule, or, more probably, that it might not interfere with an arrangement he then contemplated with the court. But this design failed: Mirabeau, from whom he had previously cherished hopes of the lieutenant-generalship of the kingdom, contemptuously threw him off, on learning the intrigue, with

* Biographie Moderne, article, *Orleans*, vol. i, p. 370.

the exclamation, "This imbecile scoundrel is not worth a moment's attention!" and hastened to form an arrangement with the Government instead. The two Orleans—father and son—consequently entered into the fiercest ranks of Opposition; and while the former daily plotted with the Jacobins—the most abandoned of whom were in his pay—the other, whose natural sagacity already foresaw the issue, set out to assume the command of a regiment of dragoons on the frontier, in order at once to promote the views of the club and provide for his own security. Of the book, consequently, no more is heard, though it may possibly form part of those interesting *souvenirs de ma vie* with which the late king was said to be in the habit of entertaining his descendants.

His journal thus alludes to this singular affair:—

"*January* 8.—In the morning to the Assembly; at six in the evening to the Jacobins. M. de Noailles presented a work on the Revolution, by Mr. Joseph Towers, in answer to Mr. Burke. He praised it highly, and proposed that I should be appointed to translate it. This proposition was adopted with great applause, and I foolishly consented, but expressed my fear that I should not fulfil their expectations. I returned home at a quarter past seven. At night, my father told me that he did not approve of it, and I must excuse myself to the Jacobins on Sunday."

Yet he was at the same time engaged in occupations which may be deemed more meritorious.

"I went," he adds, with exemplary piety, "yesterday morning to confession. I dined at the Palais Royal, and then went to the Philanthropic Society, whence I could not get away till eight o'clock. * * I went to the midnight mass at St. Eustache, returned at two in the morning, and got to bed at half-past two. I performed my devotions at this mass."

Another extract from this journal, which the *Quarterly Review* quotes with commendable fervour, may suffice:—

"*August* 3.—Happy day! I have saved a man's life, or rather, have contributed to save it. This evening, after having read a little of Pope, Metastasio, and Emile, I went to bathe. Edward and I were dressing ourselves, when I heard cries of '*Help, help! I am drowning!*' I ran immediately to the cry, as did Edward, who was farther. I came

first, and could only see the tops of the person's fingers. I laid hold of that hand, which seized mine with indescribable strength, and by the way in which he held me, would have drowned me, if Edward had not come up and seized one of his legs, which deprived him of the power of jumping on me. We then got him ashore. He could scarcely speak, but he nevertheless expressed great gratitude to me as well as to Edward. I think with pleasure on the effect this will produce at Bellechasse. I am born under a happy star! Opportunities offer themselves in every way: I have only to avail myself of them! The man we saved is one M. Siret, an inhabitant of Vendôme, sub-engineer in the office of roads and bridges. I go to bed happy!

"*August* 11.—Another happy day. I had been invited yesterday to attend at the town-house with some non-commissioned officers and privates. I went to-day, and was received with an address; there was then read a letter from M. Siret, who proposed that the municipal body should decree that a civic crown should be given to any citizen who should save the life of a fellow-creature, and that, of course, one should be presented to me. The municipal body adopted the proposition, and I received a crown amidst the applause of a numerous assembly of spectators. I was very much ashamed. I nevertheless expressed my gratitude as well as I could.

"Yesterday morning at exercise. On returning, I undressed, and read some of Hénault, Julius Cæsar, Sternheim, and Mably. Dined, and after dinner read some of Ipsipyle, Metastasio, Heloise, and Pope. At five, to the riding-house; and afterwards read Emile."

It was while in command of his regiment that Louis-Philippe first came in contact with the enemy, at Valenciennes. War having been declared against the Austrians, Biron, a republican general, was entrusted with the duty of assailing them; and a wavering on the part of Louis-Philippe's dragoons led to the check that followed, if, indeed, not to the more serious reverses which afterwards cost that unfortunate commander his life on the scaffold. Some ascribed it to the disaffection of the officers; others to the hesitation and inexperience of the royal colonel. But though the young prince evinced a momentary timidity on finding himself for the first time under fire, he could not

with propriety be accused of cowardice, as, in the subsequent battle at Valmy, and afterwards at Jemappes, he exhibited the usual courage of his countrymen; and, except in the instance of his father—who, however, died with fortitude when he saw fate inevitable—cowardice cannot be imputed to the family of Orleans.

His journal about this period contains the subjoined, strongly in contrast with his recent course.

"At noon I had brought back the regiment, but with orders not to unboot or unsaddle. I asked Messrs. Dubois, d'Albis, Jacquemin, and Philippe, to dinner. They brought us word that the people had collected in a mob, and were about to hang two priests. I ran immediately to the place, followed by Pieyre, Dubois, and d'Albis. I came to the door of a tavern, where I found ten or twelve national guards, the mayor, the town-clerk, and a great number of people, crying, '*They have violated the law; they must be hanged—à la lanterne!*' I asked the mayor what all this meant, and what it was all about. He replied, 'It is a nonjuring priest and his father, who have escaped into this house; the people pretend that they have insulted M. Buisson, a priest, who has taken the civic oath, and who was carrying the holy sacrament, and I can no longer restrain them. I have sent for a carriage to convey them away. Have the goodness to send for two dragoons to escort them.' I did so immediately. There was the mayor, motionless before the door, and not opening his mouth. I therefore addressed some of the hottest of the mob, and endeavoured to explain 'how horrible it would be to hang men without trial; that, moreover, they would be doing the work of the executioner, which they considered infamous; that there were judges whose duty it was to deal with these men.' The mob answered that the judges were aristocrats, and that they did not punish the guilty. I replied, 'That's your own fault, as they are elected by yourselves; but you must not take the law into your own hands.' There was now a great confusion; at last one voice cried—'We will spare them for the sake of M. de Chartres.' 'Yes, yes, yes!' cried the people; '*he is a good patriot; he edified us all this morning.* Bring them out, we shall do them no harm.' I went up to the room where the unhappy men were, and asked them if they would trust themselves to me; they said

'Yes.' I preceded them down stairs, and exhorted the people not to forget what they had promised. They cried out again, 'Be easy; they shall receive no harm.' I called to the driver to bring up the carriage; upon which the crowd cried out, 'No carriage—on foot, on foot, that we may have the pleasure of hooting them, and expelling them ignominiously from the town.' 'Well,' I said, 'on foot; be it so; 'tis the same thing to me, for you are too honest fellows to forfeit your word.' We set out amidst hisses and a torrent of abuse; I gave my arm to one of the men, and the mayor was on the other side. The priest walked between Messrs. Dubois and d'Albis. Not thinking at the moment, I unluckily took the direction towards Paris. The mayor asked one of the men where he would wish to go; he answered, 'To Blois.' It was directly the contrary way from that which we were taking. The mayor wished to return, and to pass across the whole town. I opposed this, and we changed our direction, but without going back through the streets. We passed a little wooden bridge of a few planks without rails; there the mob cried to throw them into the river, and endeavoured, by putting sticks across, to trip them up into the water. I again reminded them of their promise, and they became quiet. When we were about a mile out of the town, some of the country people came running down the hill, and precipitated themselves upon us, calling out, 'Hang or drown the two rascals!' One of them seized one of the poor wretches by the coat, and the crowd rushing in, forced away the mayor and M. d'Albis. I remained alone with M. Dubois, and we endeavoured to make the peasant loose his hold. I held one of the men by one hand, and by the other endeavoured to free the coat. At last one of the national guard arrived to our assistance, and by force cleared the man. The crowd was still increasing. It is but justice to the people of Vendôme to say that they kept their word, and tried to induce the peasants to do no violence to the men. Seeing, however, that if I continued my march, some misfortune must inevitably occur, I cried, 'We must take them to prison,' and then all the people cried, 'To prison! to prison!' Some voices cried, 'They must ask pardon of God, and thank M. de Chartres for their lives.' That was soon done, and we set out for the prison. As we went along, one man

came forward with a gun, and said to us, 'Stand out of the way while I fire on them.' Believing that he was really about to fire, I rushed forward in front of my two men, saying, 'You shall kill me first.' As the man was well dressed, M. Pieyre said to him, 'But how can you act so?' 'I was only joking,' says the man; 'my gun is not charged.' We again continued our way, and the two men were lodged in the prison."

He adds, "Several of those who the day before had been the most savage, came with tears to ask my pardon, and to thank me for having saved them from the commission of a crime."

It suited the views of Dumouriez, who commanded in the two recent actions, to invest the young prince with a greater reputation than he in reality deserved. There was at this period a project to invest him with the lieutenant-generalship of the kingdom, if his father should be found wholly to fail; and the young prince had even on the subject an interview with Danton. The bold triumvir, however, found him impracticable, as Mirabeau had declared the father to be; but not for the same reasons, as he, even in this early stage, seems to have discovered the future king's selfish ambition. Events, however, had in the interval proceeded with uncontrollable rapidity. The insurrection of the 20th of June, 1792, had occurred; the more terrible 10th of August followed; and the Duke of Orleans, though his partizans were concerned in both, was involved in suspicion, as well as other members of the royal family. He endeavoured to lull it for a time, and secure safety, by joining in the prosecution of Louis XVI. But the revolting extreme to which he proceeded shocked even the most hostile of the Jacobins, and all classes loudly testified their horror when he voted for the death of his unfortunate relative. Louis-Philippe, whose sagacity appears to have foreseen the issue, advised his father to seek future safety in flight; but the other rejected the proposal as pusillanimous, and remained at home, abject and degraded, till a decree of the Convention banished the whole house of Bourbon from France. Again the young duke renewed his admonition, and again the father rejected it; obeying with alacrity another decree which the legislature shortly afterwards passed for their recall. A vague ambition had not even yet deserted the insensate *Egalité*. But he was

soon undeceived by the course that followed. He returned to Paris, and was quickly put upon his trial; yet not till his son had taken part in Dumouriez's design to march against the Convention and dissolve it by an armed force. Both had previously been defeated at the battle of Neerwinde, and it was in the course of their retreat that the resolution was formed which proved so fatal to the young prince's father. They were unable to carry it out, and *Egalité* consequently was consigned to the revolutionary tribunal and guillotine; while his son fled with Dumouriez across the frontier.

Louis-Philippe was shortly afterwards invited to join the other French princes, in a bold design for recovering their dominions, by placing themselves at the head of a division of allied troops; but the brief experience he had already had in the field gave him a distaste for war, and he preferred retiring for shelter to obscurity in Switzerland. Concealed in Reicherau, he found congenial employment and security by teaching mathematics to the youth of a Swiss canton, and remained in this disguise eight months, until, on the French government receiving intelligence of his retreat, he fled first to Germany, and ultimately to Sweden, to avoid their vengeance. *Corby* was the name he assumed in Switzerland, and it was now exchanged for another (Muller) equally obscure, to elude the inquiries of the Directory. In Copenhagen, however, he chanced to be recognised, and accordingly fled thence into Lapland. From this place he, in a few weeks, returned to Sweden; but the French government again ascertaining his retreat, he shortly afterwards again quitted this, and, early in 1796, fled to America. A pecuniary arrangement between his mother and the Directory, by the completion of which his own finances were improved, is understood to have been the motive which induced him to seek shelter in the United States.* But it were idle to trace his transatlantic adventures, or inquire into his motives now. They were, in truth, of no very interesting or romantic description;—his own most exciting reminiscence, when in conversation with an American gentleman, forty years afterwards, being, that he possessed "an exact account of every dollar he had spent during his stay."

* Biographie Moderne.

The following extract of a letter from the Duke de Montpensier to his sister, seems the most interesting part of their proceedings during the tour.

"Philadelphia, Aug. 14, 1797.

"I hope you received the letter which we wrote you from Pittsburg two months since. We were then in the midst of a great journey, that we finished fifteen days ago. It took us four months. We travelled during that time a thousand leagues, and always upon the same horses, except the last hundred leagues, which we performed partly by water, partly on foot, partly upon hired horses, and partly by the stage or public conveyance. We have seen many Indians, and we remained several days in their country. They received us with great kindness, and our national character contributed not a little to this good reception, for they love the French. After them, we found the Falls of Niagara, which I wrote you from Pittsburg we were about to visit, the most interesting object upon our journey. It is the most surprising and majestic spectacle I have ever seen. It is a hundred and thirty-seven (French) feet high; and the volume of water is immense, since it is the whole river St. Lawrence which precipitates itself at this place. I have taken a sketch of it, and I intend to paint a picture in water colours from it, which my dear little sister will certainly see at our tender mother's; but it is not yet commenced, and will take me much time, for truly it is no small work. To give you an idea of the agreeable manner in which they travel in this country, I will tell you, my dear sister, that we passed fourteen nights in the woods, devoured by all kinds of insects, after being wet to the bone, without being able to dry ourselves; and eating pork, and sometimes a little salt beef, and corn bread."

Louis-Philippe's finances were now much improved; but the Americans, says a recent tourist, in vain presented the "most tempting offers." To all such overtures his answer was, that he had "come to see the country, not to make purchases;" and after having traversed it for some years, availing himself for the most part of private hospitality, he passed on to Cuba. Here, however, his stay was of short duration; the Spanish authorities quickly ordering him to the

Bahamas. From the Duke of Kent, who then chanced to be resident here, he solicited a passage to England; but his Royal Highness finding it imcompetent to afford him transit in an English frigate, he effected an arrangement with the commander of a trading packet, and along with his brother set sail for England. The vessel had a passage unusually long, but eventually reached London early in the year 1800, and Louis-Philippe, with his brother, shortly afterwards took up his residence at Twickenham. It is a common error to suppose that, while here he again acted as schoolmaster. His circumstances no longer rendered such a course necessary; greater part of his patrimonial fortune having been restored to the dowager-duchess by the Directory, and subsequently by Napoleon. Yet he maintained an establishment unusually moderate, and profited for the most part by the hospitality of the English nobility and gentry in the neighbourhood. This, indeed, appears to have been the happiest portion of his life. Writing to an English prelate (the late Bishop of Llandaff), in July 1804, he states: "I quitted my native land so early that *I have hardly the habits of a Frenchman*, and I can say with truth that I am attached to England, not only by gratitude, *but also by taste and inclination.* In the sincerity of my heart do *I pray I may never leave this hospitable soil*;—for it is not from individual feeling only that I take so much interest in the success of England, but it is also as a man," &c. &c. We forbear quoting more of this remarkable letter, as its sentiments might not be particularly agreeable to his recent subjects now; though it affords an extraordinary proof of the future monarch's versatility of opinion. He possessed, indeed, in an eminent degree the art, or at least the desire, of rendering himself agreeable to the party he was for the moment addressing, though it frequently happened that when two persons of opposite principles compared notes, after being favoured with an interview, they were by no means highly impressed with a conviction of his sincerity.

It was during his stay in England, on this occasion, that he lost his brother, the Duke de Montpensier, and a tomb commemorative of such sentiments was erected in Westminster Abbey, the authors of the epitaph being Louis-Philippe and his old confederate Dumouriez, then also an

exile in England. A year afterwards, he had the misfortune to lose another and last surviving brother, the young Count of Beaujolais, but he was soon consoled for these bereavements by an union with his cousin, the Princess Amelia, daughter of the King of the Two Sicilies. The nuptials were celebrated at Palermo in November 1809, and shortly afterwards he was, in consequence of this connexion with its royal family, invited by the Spanish government to assist in the expulsion of the French from the Peninsula. He complied; and during three months held some unimportant military command: but a dispute having arisen with the Cortes concerning conditions, he at the end of that period retired from the hazardous duties of service, and returned to Palermo, where his eldest son (the late Duke of Orleans) was born in September of the following year.

Here, or in some shelter equally obscure, he remained till 1814, when Napoleon having been driven from the French throne by the bayonets of the allies, Louis-Philippe quitted Sicily, in a vessel placed at his disposal by Lord William Bentinck, and, under protection of the English, advanced to Paris to claim his patrimonial inheritance. The Palais Royale and vast domains of his house were consequently restored to him; but he had scarcely completed arrangements to render them once more productive, when the Emperor's return from Elba threatened again to overthrow all. The duke instantly despatched his family to England, with whatever valuable property he could, in the emergency, collect, and was himself preparing to follow, when Louis XVIII. invited him to assist in the country's defence. He obeyed; and for a few days held the command of a division in the North. On the approach of Napoleon, however, he quickly resigned the trust to Mortier, Duke of Treviso, and sought safety in England, where (in his old retreat at Twickenham) he remained during the other memorable Hundred Days.

When Napoleon was a second time expelled from France, the Duke of Orleans again entered it in the wake of the Allies and other Bourbon princes, but was now viewed by the latter with suspicion, his conduct during recent events having excited distrust, though, in throwing up his command, he in reality only intended to provide for personal security. Some strange, and by no means flattering com-

ments were made upon him in military circles, by officers of the Allies, as well as his own country; and finding himself thus an object of aversion at court, and by no means popular in the ranks of his countrymen, he shortly afterwards returned to the cherished shores of England.

Here he remained till the year 1817: but the arbitrary policy of the old dynasty having excited general discontent, he then returned to France with hopes revived. A change of system was now adopted: his vast fortune, expended with some profusion, enabled him to retain some needy journalists in his pay; and the unexpected step he took, in sending his children to be educated at the public schools, added greatly to his popularity. The cynics of the court, indeed, represented that it was prompted by motives of economy; but those who understood the duke, knew that he had a deeper object in view. "The pear, however," to use his own phrase, "was not yet ripe." The obnoxious dynasty, instead of being cast off, as expected, in 1820, lingered during other ten years; and the prudent prince of course remained quiescent in the interval. The greater part of his literary corps were even disbanded, and he was on the point of diminishing his expenditure by the reduction of the remainder, when the celebrated Ordinances of July 1830 appeared, to revive, and finally to gratify, his hopes.

It was not, however, to his own staff that Louis-Philippe owed the advantages he derived from this day. Thiers, the chief of them, it is said, disappeared, and, like his patron, remained during the whole of the Three Days in the shelter of privacy. Louis-Philippe quietly passed the interval at Neuilly; and the residence of the Historian of the Revolution and Empire, even the most anxious of his friends were unable to discover so long as the insurrection lasted. Armand Carrel, the celebrated editor of the *National*, drew up the memorable protest of the press, which stimulated the people to resist, and the revolution that followed was achieved by men who, like himself, were utterly inaccessible to either corruption or fear. Louis-Philippe profited by the issue, mainly through the fatuity of Lafayette, by whose recommendation he was advanced, first to the long-coveted Lieutenant-Generalship of the kingdom, and ultimately elevated to the throne. Carrel and the bolder

spirits, imbued with more distrust or less credulity, stood aloof; and the unflinching republican shortly afterwards laid down his life for his principles—having been shot in a duel by M. Emile de Gerardin, then one of Louis-Philippe's most ardent supporters—though recently, like the other, amongst the most uncompromising of the ex-monarch's opponents.

From a statement which lately appeared in the journal of this gentleman, it should seem that Louis-Philippe was not so grateful as might have been anticipated to his friends of the press; fifty-seven journals having been obliged to discontinue publication, and their writers sentenced, in the aggregate, to an imprisonment of 3141 years and eight months, in addition to the exaction of 7,110,500 francs from their proprietors as fines, during the first sixteen years of his government; "the result," adds the paper, "of 1129 prosecutions directed by the king who inaugurated his accession to the throne by a formal promise that no prosecution should in future be directed against the press."

The issue and the consequences are well known. Lafayette, Casimir Perier, and Lafitte, to whom chiefly he was indebted for the throne, were either contemptuously cast aside, or speedily dismissed; and M. Thiers, who had solicited him to assume the crown as "the least of a choice of dangers, and the only means of preventing a republic and its inevitable violences," was, during the greater part of the monarch's career, kept as effectually at a distance. Of all concerned in his elevation, his sister alone—who received M. Thiers and M. Scheffer as a deputation, while it was yet perilous for her brother to interfere, and finally persuaded him to accept the crown when, by the abdication of Charles X., all danger was past—retained her influence; and her habit, from youth upwards, of counselling and supporting his drooping spirits in moments of emergency, enabled her to maintain it to the last.

A brief sketch of this lady may here be interesting. The only sister of Louis-Philippe, she, on the death of her mother, succeeded to the vast domains of the wealthy Duc de Penthievre; but almost all were for a time destroyed by the Revolution, which broke out ere she had attained maturity; and it was not until the Restoration that she inherited the colossal fortune which, a few weeks ago bestowed

on the Duke de Montpensier, has again, in all probability, been scattered to the winds. In the interval she had witnessed many a striking scene. Her early education, however, under Madame de Genlis, had inured her to hardships. From her own statement, we learn she was clad in the lightest tissue, nourished on the plainest fare, accustomed to many hours of pedestrian exercise each day, and to repose, as already mentioned, on a couch of straw by night. When the Revolution burst forth, therefore, and her family were driven from France, Madame Adelaide—as she was termed, in consequence of her birth—by no means suffered from the change so much as might have been anticipated. In company with her mother, she retired first to Italy and then to Germany, where, for some time, they lived in comparative tranquillity, on the little remains of their fortune which the Directory had left. Their position, however, soon became embarrassed. The French government was in eager pursuit of Louis-Philippe, suspected even then of entertaining pretensions to the throne. His mother and sister were consequently subjected to annoyance, and it was not until the authorities discovered he was residing in Switzerland, that their vigilance relaxed. Even then the apprehensions of his family only assumed a new direction. The duke fled, as already recorded, with his brothers, to the North of Europe, so soon as his retreat was known; but as he obstinately refused to quit it, their small remaining fortune was threatened to be cut off; and it was not till 1796, when they were reduced to the lowest ebb, that he reluctantly consented to withdraw to America, and leave the others to enjoy their pittance at home.

During his absence, Madame Adelaide and her mother remained in repose; but by Louis-Philippe's reappearance, in 1800, their security was again compromised. Bonaparte having returned from Egypt in the autumn preceding, and overturned the feeble Directory, the Duke surmised his services might be required. The bold soldier, however, so soon as Talleyrand mooted the proposal, cast the aspirant contemptuously aside, and the property of the family was consequently again endangered. The First Consul proved magnanimous; and when satisfied they were unconcerned in the intrigue, not only caused their *rentes*, but a considerable addition, to be returned to the ladies. The

Continent being henceforth free to them, though no longer open to her brother, Madame Adelaide, early in the present century, betook herself to Italy, where she afterwards matured the marriage which Louis-Philippe contracted with the Princess of the Two Sicilies. From this period, she became her brother's principal adviser, and most of the prudent resolutions he subsequently adopted are supposed to have resulted from her instigation. Occasionally, it is said, she recommended a bolder course than he felt inclined to adopt. When he reluctantly accepted the command which the Spanish Cortez offered him, in 1810, it was by her advice he acted; and she is stated to have betrayed considerable indignation when in three months he retired from the struggle, and took up his quarters in security at Palermo. In 1815, when he threw up his command, on the approach of Napoleon, she is reported to have expressed herself still more warmly; but all her martial councils failing to subdue his pacific disposition, she never again attempted to influence him till 1830, when the events of that year having once more roused her masculine spirit, she persuaded him, first, to accept the long-coveted Lieutenant-Generalship, and ultimately the throne of France.

In personal appearance, Madame Adelaide bore a considerable resemblance to her brother, and they always considered their fates united. She was unmarried, though she had contracted a morganatic alliance with a general of the late French court, but left no issue. It was her joy at first to see him walking the streets of Paris, with his umbrella, as a citizen; and ultimately her fate to witness him living as a despot, in the recesses of his palace.

The following are the terms in which he took the oath. It need not be added how grossly they were forgot; but even the sternest of his late subjects may now feel disinclined to dwell on such topics. After the charter and conditions had been presented to him, he said—"I have read with great attention the declaration of the Chamber of Deputies, and the act of adhesion of the Chamber of Peers. I have weighed and meditated every expression therein. I accept, without restriction or reservation, the clauses and engagements contained in that declaration, and the title of King of the French, which it confers on me, and I am ready to make oath to observe the same." He then rose, ungloved

his hand, uncovered his head, and said—"In the presence of God, I swear faithfully to observe the constitutional charter, with the modifications set forth in the declaration; to govern only by the laws; to cause good and exact justice to be administered to every one according to his right; and to act in everything with the sole view to the interest, the welfare, and the glory of the French people." After signing the charter and oath, he ascended the throne, and delivered another appropriate address.

The reader would at present probably feel equally disinclined to listen to any recapitulation of the numerous plots and attempted assassinations to which these evasions gave rise. The successive homicidal attempts of Fieschi, Alibaud, and others, have hitherto only excited, and may possibly still only excite indignation; but the execration becomes divided, on reflecting that a whole kingdom was ultimately enmeshed in the same tyranny from which these men sought a rude and violent relief. Gradually, but incessantly, the feeling extended; and at last the nation, which at first regarded such attempts with abhorrence, aroused by the impulse which his despotism, corruption, and perjury excited, arose in its might and its vengeance, and swept all away. A few weeks previously, foreigners had been shocked by his perfidy towards a confiding African; within a period more recent, his own subjects were outraged by the utter subversion of their liberties. A servile cabinet bent in abject submission to his tyranny, and an apparently irresistible force was congregated to give force to his will. Corruption had gained the higher order of citizens, disinclination to insurrection promised to restrain the intermediate; the lower alone seemed hostile and helpless; and it was, accordingly, against these that a gallant army, and equally magnanimous National Guard, were expected to act. But the patriotic forces remembered they were citizens—and in a few hours the whole system, on the erection of which the labour, fraud, chicanery, and violence of seventeen years had been bestowed, but bestowed in vain, fell prostrate to the ground.

An incident, trivial, gave rise to it, as trifles often are productive of momentous events. A passion for reform, to extend the suffrage beyond the narrow limit of 280,000 electors out of 34,000,000 of citizens, had sprung up amongst the people. Sixty banquets had been held in the

provinces, to nurture the movement. At these, the trifling ceremony of toasting the King's health was omitted, and to resent this trivial insult, when expected to recur in Paris, it was resolved that the metropolis should be plunged in blood. On ground equally paltry, the Government took its stand: an article in the Penal Code forbade the assembly of more than twenty citizens in public for purposes of political discussion; and on this narrow basis the administration of a vast empire proposed to rest.

Yet the Government apparently exhibited irresolution. In a speech from the throne, Louis-Philippe denounced reform as the impulse of "blind and hostile passion;" and his ministry for some time exhibited a resolution to oppose it. When, however, a powerful body of the Deputies evinced an equal determination to persist, the Government seemingly changed its tone. The *Journal des Debats*, the ministerial organ, declared, "The question of parliamentary reform will be discussed in all its bearings during the present parliament. Not only will it be solved, but the solution will be what is already known. It will be in accordance with what has prevailed in the discussion of the Address, and which appears to be decidedly that of the Conservative majority. Reform will be accomplished then, or at least, there is every chance of its being so, for it depends no longer upon the ministry, but upon Providence alone. With this single reservation, we no longer doubt of the result—we can answer for it. Thus this great question is decided in principle, and it only remains to be decided by a parliamentary vote. Henceforth there are no more grounds for debate—no more pretences for the violence which has afflicted the country—no more pretences for that agitation which has formed for us so sad a spectacle. Therefore, let there be an end to agitation, with all its dangerous evils. Let all good citizens, both in and out of the Chambers, be reconciled, and let the whole country resume its calm confidence!" But this was considered a mere evasion: the words "present parliament," were unsatisfactory, if not equivocal. They meant not "the present session;" and as the existing parliament would not naturally expire for five years, the Opposition looked for a more explicit declaration.

But the Ministry for a moment attained their point. A band of 190 placemen in the Legislature enabled them to

carry the Address by an imposing majority, and they flattered themselves, that with the vote all opposition would cease; that they should be allowed to choose their own time, if they deemed any convenient, for the proposition of measures of reform. They miscalculated. The proceedings at a meeting of Opposition Deputies, which subsequently took place, forbade the belief that the sensation already created would be permitted to subside, or the Government left at liberty to deal with the half pledge of M. Guizot when and in what manner he thought proper. On the other hand, Ministers were described as determined to crush any and every attempt to force concessions. The Opposition were cool, but serious. If hitherto they refrained from exciting popular opinion, it was because they hoped to carry reform in a constitutional manner, and one or two chances existed that extremities would be prevented or avoided. The first was, that the National Guards would interpose; the second, that, even at the eleventh hour, M. Thiers or M. Dupin would convince the King of the danger of staking all on a conflict between his people and his army. In the former case, the issue would be bloodless. The troops would not, it was believed, fire on the National Guard; and in the second, the King had only to change his Ministers and concede.

Both parties, meanwhile, maintained their attitude. It was announced as certain that the Reform Banquet would take place. The Opposition Deputies resolved to present themselves to a man. The Opposition National Guards were also to be present, but with side-arms only, it being illegal for them to appear in arms unless summoned by their chiefs. The Government determined to prevent the banquet, and their means for enforcing submission were immense. The army in Paris and its environs was numerically equal to the National Guard. Every barrack, every post, every guard-house in the capital was fortified, and safe from a *coup de main*. The officers of the staff were engaged in studying a plan laid down by Marshal Gerard for resistance to revolt. Every military post in Paris, and every one of the forts that surround and command it, was gorged with ammunition.

A lull supervened: a compromise was anticipated. Honour constrained the committee of the intended banquet

to persist, but a feeling was entertained that both parties were becoming afraid of the position in which they were placed, and that the result would be a compromise, by which, on the one hand, the Opposition would be permitted to make a demonstration in favour of reform, but, on the other, the Government would be allowed to adhere to its declaration that the demonstration should not take place within the capital. In consequence of this feeling on both sides, it was rumoured that the committee had resolved the banquet should not take place in the twelfth arrondissement of Paris, but either at St. Denis or at Corbeil, and that the Government would not interfere to prevent it. This arrangement would certainly have relieved the Government from a difficulty, and, as a demonstration, have been almost as effective as if the banquet took place in the capital itself, both St. Denis and Corbeil being as accessible to Paris as Greenwich or Blackwall is to London. Some such proposal as this was, indeed, made by the Opposition. General Thiars, a distinguished member of the party, placed his house, in the Champs Elysées, at the disposal of the committee, and there it was resolved the dinner should take place.

In proportion as the other yielded, the Government became obdurate. It was announced they were resolved to prevent the banquet. Their friends relied upon breaking up the Opposition—a course which would render the contemplated demonstration insignificant or contemptible, and susceptible of being readily crushed. But it soon appeared there was unity of purpose among the committee, and as one or other party must give way if violence and bloodshed were to be avoided, while the Opposition could not be that party, there was a feeling abroad that the Government would realize the hope expressed a few days previously, and merely protest against the entry of the guests, with an intimation that legal proceedings would be founded on their refusal to withdraw. This impression had a favourable effect on the Bourse, but fears were still entertained in many quarters, counteracting the effects which the possibility of an amicable arrangement was calculated to produce, and those apprehensions the conduct of the Government was not calculated to allay. It had been rumoured that the Ministers intended to concede. It was reported that

the Duke de Nemours recommended the dissolution of the existing Chamber, and an appeal to the sense of the nation. Other members of the Royal family, the Prince de Joinville especially, were said to have expressed disapprobation and disgust with the course pursued by the Government; but the King obstinately adhered to his Minister. In the Cabinet all was represented as discontent, distrust, disunion, and alarm. In the Chamber, the certainty of a dissolution, should they desert the Minister, would, it was hoped, keep the nominal majority faithful; but the sense of the danger into which he was charged with having brought the Government and the country was meanwhile operating powerfully to his disadvantage. The National Guards would not unanimously, it was expected, attend the banquet, yet still it was anticipated they would be present in numbers sufficient to render the demonstration formidable, and by their presence in its vicinity identify themselves with the party.

Government, in the meantime, prepared for resistance. While it was announced that an opposition merely formal would be offered to the banquet, the Administration secretly appointed Marshal Bugeaud commander of Paris, and instructed the Duke de Montpensier to send from Vincennes to the Military School, in the Champs de Mars, artillery and ammunition sufficient for any emergency. The *National* journal obtained possession of this fact, and published the order; but its authenticity was denied by a government official, in terms, however, which showed that the contradiction was an *equivoque*, which the *National*, for some reason or other, deemed it inexpedient to notice. The Court assembled the means of resistance. Five batteries of field artillery, including howitzers or Paixhan guns, with a plentiful supply of shells, rockets, shot—grape and canister—and musket-cartridges, were in the Military School, capable of being transported, in a few minutes, to any point of the metropolis. The regiments in the barracks of the capital (Popincourt, Faubourg Poisonnière, Nouvelle France, and in the Rues de l'Oursini, du Foin, Babylone, the Military School, the Quai d'Orsay, &c.) were reinforced by those quartered in Courbevoie, Vincennes, St. Denis, St. Cloud, and Rueil. Each of these infantry regiments averaged 2500 bayonets, and the cavalry 900 men. In

addition to these and the Municipal Guards, horse and foot, the whole of the hundred barracks, guard-houses, and other military posts of Paris, were fully manned, and the soldiers kept within doors ready to act. In the course of the two previous days, five regiments were added to the previously formidable garrison of Paris; and, independently of the troops constituting the regular garrison, there were entire regiments of infantry or cavalry in quarters at Versailles, St. Germain, Rambouillet, Meaux, Melun, Compiègne, Fontainebleau, Beauvais, &c., which could by the ordinary roads be made to reach Paris, some of them in an hour, and all in the course of six. Every man of these was held in readiness to march on Paris. The artillery for arming the detached forts around it was in a condition to be forwarded to its destination by rail at a moment's warning; and finally, it was anticipated that if Government gave way—as it was still hoped that it would—it would not be from any deficiency of military or material means to enforce its will.

The King was represented as highly incensed with the opposition to the system he had been advised to pursue. Communications between the palace, the Government, and the police and military authorities were incessant. This indicated an intention to resist. The impression, however, entertained by the discriminating, was, that the banquet would not be prevented, notwithstanding the violent denunciations of it by the Ministers, and that it would be preceded by a modification of the Ministry itself.

The inhabitants of Rouen, Amiens, Angers, and Caen, forwarded addresses to the Opposition deputies, approving the attitude they had assumed, and their determination to attend the Reform banquet. "As to us," said the citizens of Rouen, "who, in the present circumstances, can only unite at a distance in your generous efforts, we wish you at least to know that in heart we are with you; that, like you, we are determined to sacrifice everything to the cause of liberty, and maintain at all risks and perils the principles which find in you such glorious defenders." "You are placed on the ground of legality," observed the inhabitants of Amiens; "remain on it; your position is impregnable, for the whole country is with you. Rely on our devotedness and co-operation." "It is your right, and it is also

our duty," said the people of Angers, "to claim by all legal and constitutional means the maintenance of a liberty contested to us by a Ministry at its last gasp. The solemn era of 1830 opened by the proclamation of this great principle—'the charter shall be henceforth a reality.' If you should succumb in your peaceable and legal struggle, the charter will be a mere deception. Rely on our co-operation and devotedness." And the general feeling was, that Government, notwithstanding its gigantic preparations, would sustain a signal defeat; that the futility of attempting to govern civilized nations by the bayonet, the sabre, the musket, and the howitzer, would be demonstrated to be obvious. Yet the Government persisted in its course.

Duchatel, Minister of the Interior, assembled the colonels of the various regiments of the line, and alleged his resolution to persevere, though, it is asserted, more than one officer declared that he would not be instrumental in the firing of the troops on the people.

Hebert, Minister of Justice, meanwhile prepared the draught of a bill for declaring public meetings, under the name of "dinners," illegal, and was to have introduced it in the Chamber next day; but is said to have been so strongly opposed in the Council, that he resolved to retire, to the infinite satisfaction of the majority of his colleagues, who had resolved on measures more violent and summary.

Meantime, preparations for the banquet proceeded. The fear of disturbance had greatly increased, and the most alarming reports were abroad. The rumour, generally credited, that the Government had secretly appointed Marshal Bugeaud, commander-in-chief of the 1st military division, in which Paris is included, with unlimited powers, was afloat; and the Marshal, whose opinions upon such subjects were matters of notoriety, was said to have exclaimed, on being consulted on the subject by the Government, *Qu'il mitraillerait la canaille d'une bonne manniere!*" (That he would crush the rabble down.) It was generally believed he would have been before appointed to the position, but for the knowledge the Government had of his unscrupulous sentiments; and another and serious cause of alarm existed with respect to the working printers of Paris. They were known to be a formidable body, amounting to upwards of sixteen thousand men. Hitherto they had

taken little or no part in the affair of the Reform banquet; but now they gave notice, in almost all the establishments, that they would not be at work on the morrow, as they had to attend the procession to the Champs Elysées. They were said to be Communists and Socialists, who were the first movers and principal contributors to the revolution of July, 1830, and it was confidently anticipated they would, on the present occasion, assume an attitude equally resolute.

General Jacqueminot had issued an order to the National Guard prohibiting them to join the procession; and the Government, it was said, purposed preventing the banquet altogether, if possible. At six o'clock Paris was to be occupied by the military, and all now indicated an impending struggle.

Meanwhile, the Banquet Committee conducted themselves with the calm intrepidity of men who know their rights, and, knowing, will maintain them. No menace or preparation for hostilities was made. They confined their efforts to the tranquil and imposing attitude of citizens, and issued the following

"REFORM MANIFESTATION.

"The general committee charged to organize the banquet of the 12th arrondissement, thinks it right to state that the object of the demonstration fixed for Tuesday is the legal and pacific exercise of a constitutional right, the right of holding political meetings, without which representative government would only be a derision. The Ministry having declared and maintained at the tribune that this right is subjected to the good pleasure of the police, deputies of the Opposition, peers of France, ex-deputies, members of the Conseil General, magistrates, officers, sub-officers, and soldiers of the National Guard, members of the central committee of electors of the Opposition, and editors of newspapers of Paris, have accepted the invitation which was made to take part in the demonstration, in order to protest, in virtue of the law, against an illegal and arbitrary pretension. As it is natural to foresee that this public protest may attract a considerable gathering of citizens; as it may be assumed also that the National Guards of Paris, faithful to their motto, '*Liberté, Ordre Public,*' will desire,

on this occasion, to accomplish the double duty of defending liberty by joining the demonstration, and protecting order, and preventing all collision by their presence; and as in the expectation of a numerous meeting of National Guards and of citizens, it seems right to take measures for preventing every cause of trouble and tumult, the committee has thought that the demonstration should take place in that quarter of the capital in which the width of the streets and squares enables the population to assemble without excessive crowding; accordingly, the deputies, peers of France, and other persons invited to the banquet, will assemble on Tuesday next, at 11 o'clock, in the ordinary place of the meeting of the parliamentary Opposition, Place de la Madeleine 2; the subscribers to the banquet, who belong to the National Guard, are requested to meet before the church of the Madeleine, and to form two parallel lines, between which the persons invited will place themselves; the cortège will be headed by the superior officers of the National Guard who may present themselves to join the demonstration; immediately after the persons invited and the guests, will be placed a rank of officers of the National Guard; behind the latter, the National Guards formed in columns, according to the number of the legions; between the third and fourth columns, the young men of the schools, headed by persons chosen by themselves; next, the other National Guards of Paris and the suburbs, in the order set forth above. The cortège will leave at half-past 11 o'clock, and will proceed by the Place de la Concorde and the Champs Elysées to the place in which the banquet is to take place. The committee, convinced that this demonstration will be the more efficacious the more it be calm, and the more imposing the more it shall avoid even all pretext of conflict, invites the citizens to utter no cry, to carry neither flag nor exterior sign; it invites the National Guards who may take part in the demonstration to present themselves without arms; for it is desired to make a legal and pacific protest, which must be especially powerful by the number, and the firm and tranquil attitude of the citizens. The committee hopes that on this occasion every man present will consider himself as a functionary charged to cause order to be respected; it trusts in the presence of the National Guard; it trusts in the sentiments

of the Parisian population, which desires public peace with liberty, and which knows that, to secure the maintenance of its rights, it has only need of a peaceable demonstration, as becomes an intelligent and enlightened nation, which has the consciousness of the irresistible authority of its moral power, and is assured that it will cause its legitimate wishes to prevail by the legal and calm expression of its opinion."

This document was in all respects so unexceptionable that even the ministerial organ, the *Journal des Débats*, gave credit to the Opposition for a laudable, though tardy wish to prevent actual outbreak or collision between the authorities and the people.

"We render justice," says the *Débats*, "to the desire expressed by the Opposition deputies to prevent every kind of physical disturbance. But have the best means been taken to prevent disorder? Does not this solemn procession in the midst of Paris—in a city where so many ardent passions ferment—in the midst of a calm and well-behaved population, offer of itself the greatest dangers? Are we already sufficiently far removed from our days of trouble and riot to allow, without a grave imprudence, such a manifestation in the street? The result will tell. For our parts we persist in thinking that the occasion did not demand, even in the point of view of the Opposition, so rash a demonstration. A simple protest, firm and energetic, signed by all the deputies of the left, would have sufficed to reserve the right. The question would have been brought before the country by the press, and at a later period before the electors themselves, who form the surest tribunal in such matters, by the deputies. We may add, that all good citizens would have felt grateful to the Opposition for the excellent example which it would have given of temporary submission. What is least understood amongst us is the respect due to the law, and even to the appearance of the law! The right of meeting is precious; granted—but the repose and security of a million of men are also worth having something sacrificed to them. There is not at present a family, not a house, not a workshop, into which disquietude has not penetrated. Business is a complete nullity; every one is out of spirits; the extreme parties are alone satisfied. One would say that the life of France was

suspended. We ask, is not this already to pay dear enough for the right of making speeches at a banquet, and we demand if the Opposition would not have been one hundred times more prudent to postpone the exercise of this right?"

But in the course wherein, though opposed to these proceedings, the ministerial organ, as yet ignorant of the Government's intentions, acknowledged propriety and moderation, Ministers themselves affected to discover anarchy and revolt. On the pretext that the National Guards had been illegally convoked, General Jacqueminot, their commander, by instructions of the King, issued the following address:—

"So long," said he, "as the manifestation which is preparing made no direct appeal to your co-operation and support, I abstained from reminding you in what limits the law has fixed your rights and your duties, for you have never ceased, during a period of seventeen years, proving that you knew them well, and that you never failed in them. Now that an attempt is made to mislead you, even in the name of legality, the maintenance of which is confided to your devotedness and patriotism, and that men who are strangers to you are convoking you, and calling upon you to usurp the rights of your chiefs, I must protest aloud against this insult, and it is in the name of the law itself that I address you. (He here quoted the articles of the law, which declare that all chiefs of corps acting without a requisition of the proper authorities, shall be tried by the tribunals, and punished conformably with articles of the Penal Code.) You see that the law is too clear and too precise for it to be possible for you to be deceived by an interpretation, the falsehood of which is evident to your good sense. Few among you, without doubt, are disposed to allow yourselves to be led to a culpable step, but I wish to spare them the error and the regret of showing their small number among the 85,000 National Guards of which your legions are composed. It is, then, in the name of the law that I conjure you not to disappoint the confidence of the country, which has confided to you the defence of the constitutional royalty and legal order. You will not refuse to listen to the voice of your commander-in-chief, who has never deceived you. I rely on your prudence and patriot-

ism, as you may always rely upon my probity and devotedness."

The Prefect of Police, at the same time, posted up the following:—

"Inhabitants of Paris,—A disquietude injurious to labour and business has reigned for some time in the public mind. This arises from manifestations in preparation. The Government, from motives of public order but too well justified, and exercising the right invested in it by the laws, and which has been constantly brought into use without dispute, has interdicted the banquet of the 12th arrondissement. Nevertheless, as it has declared in the Chamber of Deputies, as this question was of a nature to admit of a judicial solution, instead of opposing by force the projected meeting, it came to a resolution to suffer the contravention to be established, by permitting the guests to enter the banquet-room, hoping that they would have the prudence to retire at the first summons, in order not to convert a simple contravention into an act of rebellion. This was the only means of bringing the question before the Supreme Court of Cassation. The Government persists in this determination, but the manifesto published this morning by the journals of the Opposition announces another object, and other intentions. It sets up a Government against the true Government of the country, that which is instituted by the Charter, and which rests upon the majority of the Chambers. It calls for a public manifestation which is dangerous to the peace of the city. It convokes, in violation of the law of 1831, the National Guards, whom it arranges beforehand in regular line, by number of legion, with the officers at their head. Here no doubt is longer possible. The clearest and best established laws are violated. The Government will cause them to be respected; they are the foundation and the guarantee of public order. I invite all good citizens to conform to these laws, and not join in any assemblage, for fear it may give rise to disturbances that may be regretted. I make this appeal to their patriotism and their right reason, in the name of our institutions, of public peace, and the dearest interests of the city.

"G. DELESSERT, Peer of France,
Prefect of Police.

"Paris, this 21st of February."

And lastly, the Government issued the subjoined:—

"Parisians,—The Government had interdicted the banquet of the 12th arrondissement. It was within its right in doing this, being authorized by the letter and spirit of the law. Nevertheless, in consequence of the discussion which took place in the Chamber on this subject, thinking that the Opposition was acting with good faith, it resolved to afford it an opportunity for submitting the question of the legality of banquets to the appreciation of the tribunals and the High Court of Cassation. To do this, it had resolved to authorize for to-morrow the entrance into the banquet-room, hoping that the persons present at the manifestation would have the wisdom to retire at the first summons. But, after the manifesto published this morning, calling the public to a manifestation, convoking the National Guards, and assigning them a place ranked by the legions, and ranging them in line, a government is raised in opposition to the real Government, usurps the public power, and openly violates the Charter. These are acts which the Government cannot tolerate. In consequence, the banquet of the 12th arrondissement will not take place. Parisians! remain deaf to every excitement to disorder. Do not, by tumultuous assemblages, afford grounds for a repression which the Government would deplore."

To the great majority of the people the interdict was unknown, and when published, evidently conveyed a falsehood. No interdict appears to have previously been issued to either citizens or committee; the latter immediately assembled and promulgated an address. "Citizens," they said, "As the measures taken by the military authorities would expose those who should persist to make a collective demonstration to certain collision and shedding of blood; and as patriotism and humanity equally call on us to avoid such consequences, the committee has decided that the banquet of the twelfth arrondissement shall be adjourned. It leaves to the Government the responsibility of its provocation and its violence. It has the most entire confidence that the impeachment of a minister who has led the population of Paris to the brink of a civil war, will be presented to-morrow to the Chamber; and that France, when called on, will, by the influence of its opinion, render justice to a policy which has so long excited the contempt and indig-

nation of the country." Some feeling of disappointment was engendered by this proceeding. The electoral committee of the 2nd arrondissement published a manifesto, in which it expressed astonishment and regret that the deputies of the Opposition should have given up the banquet without at the same time laying down their commission as deputies, and entreated them to do so without delay. This document bore the signatures of the twenty-five members of the committee. But the great majority more justly concluded that the committee had acted with equal sagacity and patriotism; and the deputies of the Opposition consequently proceeded to submit a proposition for the impeachment of ministers at the bar of the legislative assembly.

"We propose," said this document, "to place the ministers in accusation as guilty—1. Of having betrayed abroad the honour and the interests of France. 2. Of having falsified the principles of the constitution, violated the guarantees of liberty, and attacked the rights of the people. 3. Of having, by a systematic corruption, attempted to substitute, for the free expression of public opinion, the calculations of private interest, and thus perverted the representative government. 4. Of having trafficked for ministerial purposes in public offices, as well as in all the prerogatives and privileges of power. 5. For having, in the same interest, wasted the finances of the state, and thus compromised the forces and the grandeur of the kingdom. 6. Of having violently despoiled the citizens of a right inherent to every free constitution, and the exercise of which had been guaranteed to them by the Charter, by the laws, and by former precedents. 7. Of having, in fine, by a policy overtly counter-revolutionary, placed in question all the conquests of our two revolutions, and thrown the country into a profound agitation." [Here followed the signatures, M. Odillon Barrot's at the head.] M. Genoude submitted in his own name a proposition of accusation against the premier in these terms:—"Whereas the minister by his refusal to present a project of law for electoral reform, has occasioned troubles, I propose to put in accusation the President of the Council and his colleagues." The haughty minion of power replied by a shout of derision. Confiding in a venal majority, he treated the menace with defiance; confident in the resources of Go-

vernment, he regarded the proposal with disdain. Another insolent peal of laughter scornfully burst from his lips; and the next intelligence heard of the recreant Guizot represents him as basely escaping from the scene of his tyranny and his cowardice in the ignominious disguise of a footman.

But even in the legislature, enthralled as it was, the ministers were not permitted to escape unreprehended. On the invitation of the president, M. Odillon Barrot rose and said, "The Chamber must remember that, when the Address was under consideration here, a discussion took place relative to the right insisted on by us, and denied by the Government, of meeting together, on condition of previously informing the authorities and of assembling without tumult and without arms. The question was not decided. An imperative duty remained for those who maintain that the right of meeting is one of those liberties which a citizen cannot allow himself to be despoiled of without compromising all the others; and that was, to set forth, in presence of the pretensions of the Government, solemn protest—in fact, to exercise that right in such a manner, as that on their part, at least, there should be no concession, that is, with the firm resolution not to stop short, except before some invincible obstacle. That arrangement had been accepted. We thought that the Government, believing itself armed with sufficient laws, intended to carry before the tribunals such persons as should persist in claiming the right of meeting, and of having the legality of that right in that manner decided; matters would so have passed over with calm, and without disturbance. But it now appears, that to counsels of wisdom and prudence have succeeded other suggestions; that acts of authority relative to a disturbance which may be called into existence, appear to establish that force is to be opposed to the peaceful exercise of an evident right. It does not belong to me at present to remark on the opportuneness of the measures taken by the authorities. I fear that these measures, though said to be dictated by an interest of order, may, on the contrary, be the cause of disturbance. The manifestation, peaceably effected, would have calmed down men's minds; but now the very opposite effect will be produced, and an indefinite germ of perturbation and disorder would be left behind. If my voice could exercise any influence on the

country, I would say to it,—"The first necessity, the first duty of all, is to employ all possible means to prevent the evils which imprudent measures may produce." It is that thought, gentlemen, which I have considered it necessary to express before this grave assembly—if it depended on me to appease the agitation which I foresee, I should do so with all the energy of my patriotism. (Hear, hear.) But there my powers cease—I cannot say anything further. It is to the Ministry that belongs the care of watching over public order, and it is to it that belongs the responsibility of what may happen." (Loud approbation from the left: great agitation.)

The Minister of the Interior (Duchatel) replied:—"He should frankly and clearly declare what was the present attitude of the Government, and on what ground it had taken up its stand. We were struck with the advantage which would accrue to every one to obtain a decision in a court of law, and whilst we maintained the principles expressed in this tribune by the Government, we were ready to permit matters to arrive at the point when a contravention having evidently taken place, a case for decision in a court of law could follow. But the matter was changed. I believe that there is not a single person in this Chamber who has not this morning read a manifesto published by a committee, (the members of which are not mentioned,) and inserted in all the Opposition journals. It does not confine itself to the speaking of the banquet, and preparing the judicial solution of the question—no, it makes an appeal to all those who profess Opposition principles, invites them to a manifestation which, I have no hesitation in declaring, would compromise the tranquillity of the capital. Nor is that all; the manifesto, in contempt of every law—in contempt, in particular, of that of 1831, calls on the National Guards to assemble; and not only that, but invites the students of the schools, young men under age, to join the *cortège*, which is to be defended as it were by the National Guards of the 12th Legion. It announces that the National Guards are to be placed in the order of their legions, and under the conduct of their officers. Such a manifesto violates all the laws of the country on which tranquillity and public order depend. The law relative to mob assemblages is clearly violated by it, as is that relative to the National Guard. I appeal to the

impartiality of this Chamber, and I ask what else is this manifesto but the proclamation of a government wishing to place itself by the side of the regular one of the country? A government emanating from a committee, of which I know nothing, taking the place of the constitutional government, founded by the charter, and supported by the majority of the two Chambers, takes on itself to speak to the citizens, to call out the National Guard, to convoke assemblages of the people in the public streets. That cannot be permitted. It is our duty not to allow such a state of things to exist. (Hear, hear.) We are responsible for the maintenance of public order. I hope, like M. O. Barrot, that it will not be troubled; but I should not answer for its not being so, if the government did not take all the precautions that it deems necessary, since I have not the same faith as the hon. deputy in those who might take part in the manifestation. ('Hear, hear,' from the centre, disapprobation from the left.) I now sum up what I meant to say: We have on this occasion acted a just part by every one. Until the manifesto of this morning, we maintained the situation which the government had taken on the discussion of the address; we were inclined to allow the question to be decided judicially, but cannot permit a government suddenly got up to place itself in the face of the legal and constitutional government of the country." (Loud approbation from the centre.)

M. O. Barrot rejoined:—"I fear that the hon. minister is designedly exaggerating matters. (Murmurs, and cries of "Yes, yes," from the left.) If the hon. minister had merely declared that a solemn manifestation, in which a great part of the population was to take part, could disquiet the government, and disquiet it the more that all would be regular and peaceful—(no, no)—I think that he would be nearer the truth. But, I may say, whilst leaving aside some expressions in the document, and which I neither avow nor disavow—(great interruption)—I avow most loudly the intention of the document, but I disavow the language used. When men summon a great concourse of citizens together, they would fail in all their duty if they did not adopt every possible means to preserve order. If, in our country, great meetings cannot take place, unless when regulated by the official authorities, why, I suppose, they must even submit to such regulations. But in free countries it is usual

for such meetings to lay down their own rules for preserving order; and on the occasion of the present manifestation, the men who took part in the matter were anxious that as great a number as possible of respectable citizens—of the National Guards—should be present, to impose order on those who could have any idea of disorder, and hence they were invited. You say that the National Guards were invited to join with arms—(denial from the centre)—but that was not the case; you are fighting against a mere chimerical supposition. (Denial from the centre.) Thanks to the progress of our political habits, thanks to the intelligence of the country, I can give you the utmost assurance that order would not have been troubled. You, by an unexpected compression, by a state of siege which you do not even pretend to dissemble—you add to the difficulties of a position already too much strained. Now on you, and on you alone, be the responsibility of such conduct. (Exclamations from the centre.) You are not willing to have order with and by means of liberty; undergo then the consequences of what you have done." (Great agitation.)

The Minister of the Interior again said—"Had I any occasion for proofs to justify the determination come to by the Government, I should find them in the very words of the hon. gentleman. This manifesto, which he accuses us of having grossly exaggerated, he neither avows nor disavows. (Movement.) When the manifesto is neither avowed nor disavowed, can it be considered a subject of security by us, who are charged to maintain public order? I ask, when were self-constituted committees admitted to have the mission of calling out the National Guards in order to maintain order?" (Loud denial on the left, and disapprobation.)

M. de Courtais (a deputy)—"Will you dare to call out the National Guard? Only try it!" (Exclamations from the centre.)

The Minister of the Interior—"I listened to M. O. Barrot with great attention, and I declare to him that I regard most seriously the responsibility which weighs on us. We are willing to allow matters to reach a point at which the judicial question may intervene. That situation we had taken up, and we still maintain it. Call that, if you please, violence and compression; but it is not so—it is the only

thing that can be reasonably called for by every one—it is the performance of the duties of the Government, the maintenance of order, and the respect for the laws, on which the tranquillity of the country and safety of our institutions depend." (Approbation. Great agitation.)

The President—"The incident is terminated. Is the Chamber inclined to go on with the discussion on the Bordeaux Bank Bill?" (Cries of "No, no; to-morrow.")

The President—"At what hour, then, to-morrow?"

The Centre—"At twelve o'clock. The Left—No, no." (Great cheers.)

The President then consulted the Chamber, which was in great agitation, and he declared that one o'clock was the hour affixed.

The sitting, adds the report, was then brought to a close at five o'clock, in a veritable tumult.

All the avenues leading to the seat of the legislature had meanwhile been occupied by horse and foot, municipal guards and troops of the line. A squadron of dragoons was stationed in front of the edifice along the quay, whilst another kept constantly moving to clear the bridge of La Concorde. In advance of the bridge, on the side of the Place de la Revolution, was a numerous body of horse chasseurs employed in dispersing a multitude of about 5000 or 6000 individuals, who quietly retired before them, singing the *Marseillaise*, and crying, "*Vive la Réforme! à bas Guizot, l'Homme de Gand!*" The passage through the adjoining streets, and the Place de Bourgogne, was intercepted by troops of the line, and none but deputies and persons provided with tickets were permitted to enter the Palace. General Perrault was on horseback in the court, ready to take the command of the troops, and a Commissary of Police was stationed at the foot of the bridge, to address the legal summonses to the people. "The interior of the Chamber," says an eye-witness, "during this sitting, presented a gloomy aspect. Few deputies were in attendance; the benches of the Opposition were completely vacant. M. Guizot arrived at an early hour; he looked pale, but confident. He was shortly afterwards followed by the Ministers of Finance, Public Instruction, and Commerce. Marshal Bugeaud, who was believed to have ac-

eepted the military command of Paris, in the event of a revolt, took his seat close to the Ministerial bench."

Up to this moment, externally, all had been quiet, but there was an agitation abroad that suggested uneasiness. The troops were in movement in every direction, and the whole line of the Boulevards from the Bastille to the Place de la Madeleine, presented a continuous stream of people, principally *en blouse*. On the other hand, the troops in Paris amounted to 100,000 men.

Immediately after the Chamber adjourned, a meeting of the opposition deputies took place at the house of M. Odillon Barrot, and a resolution was taken, which was afterwards made public, similar to that already announced. They reiterated that, not wishing to assume directly or indirectly the responsibility for the consequences which might result from the new measures adopted by the Government, they had resolved not to attend the proposed banquet, and recommended peace and submission. The government members at the same time expressed a hope that no resistance to the laws would be offered, conveying unequivocally, at the same time, the menace, that dreadful would be the consequences of non-conformity to its orders.

From some observations made in the journals of the morning, and now repeated by the groups formed in the streets, it appeared that the popularity of M. Odillon Barrot would not be likely to prove long-lived. He was said to have acted against the opinion of the majority of his party in addressing to M. Duchatel on the previous evening in the Chamber of Deputies the questions which elicited from that minister the declaration that the banquet would be prevented. "M. Odillon Barrot is too rich and too timid," they said, "for the leader of a party which has armed resistance in perspective." Already, in point of fact, this unfavourable feeling towards him had been manifested by an attempt to give him a *charivari*, and it was evident that his hour, for the present at least, had passed.

The Boulevard des Italiens and the Rue Lepelletier were filled at this moment with a deputation of students, who had arrived at the office of the *National* with the copy of a petition to the Chamber for the impeachment of ministers. The attitude of the crowd which followed them was

harmless; but at the extremity of the Boulevard, and thence to the Place de la Concorde, where the people formed a dense mass, they had begun to sing the *Marseillaise*, and a new chorus, "*Mourir pour la Patrie.*"

At the Hotel des Affaires Etrangères, the residence of Guizot, was a strong military force, and half a troop of Municipal Guards *à cheval* patrolling in front. Along the wall of the garden on the Boulevard was a body of soldiers of the line (the 21st regiment), who would not allow the passengers to cross. At the great entrance was a body of Municipal Guards on foot; and in the court-yard were to be seen several stones thrown at the windows, but only two panes of glass were broken; a mock window being the principal object of attack. Yet a charge of cavalry took place here early in the morning, by direction of Guizot; and a man had his head cut open in the sabre blows that were dealt. At the Madeleine, meanwhile, the crowd became more dense. The people, every moment called upon to disperse, answered only with cries of "*Vive la Reforme!*" "*Vive la Ligne!*" or burst into the favourite *Chœur des Girondins*, "*Mourir pour la Patrie!*" while in the Place de la Concorde matters wore an appearance still more serious. It had been filled with a concourse as on days of *fête*. The Municipal Guards sallied out, and attempted to drive the crowd before them, but, instead of succeeding, were obliged to give way and retreat into their fortified guard-house to avoid being disarmed.

Still chances were, that with the night the uproar would terminate. Nothing, however, was yet known about the Faubourg St. Antoine, the neighbourhood of the Halle and of the Rues St. Denis and St. Martin, scenes of former insurrection, which impressed the authorities with distrust. In the Rue St. Honoré, and in the Faubourg St. Honoré, there had been some very menacing proceedings. At the corner of the Rue St. Florentin a vehicle was upset by the people, and upturning the pavement, they commenced to form a regular barricade; but were obliged to desist by a body of troops of the line, who remained in occupation of the spot. A similar attempt was made at the corner of the Rue Marché St. Honoré, but there also the troops arrived and prevented it. Further on, a wagon, laden with pebbles, was overturned; its contents were discharged at

the shop of a gunsmith, who had closed it against them; and half a company of soldiers was stationed there for its protection. In the Faubourg St. Honoré the pavement of the new street, the Rue de Joinville, was dug up, and a regular barricade was also raised, but abandoned when the constructors found there was no opposition. Thence they proceeded to the Avenue des Champs Elysées, where they destroyed the superb metal lamp-posts with which it is adorned. They were about to demolish the Jardin d'Hiver, when a body of Chasseurs arrived *au grand galop*, and put them to flight. At the Place de Chatelet a formidable barricade had been formed, and a gunsmith's shop in the adjoining street (La Megisserie) plundered; but up to this period, however ill-disposed or reckless the people might appear, they were without arms. "Another fact," adds the authority—and by no means a favourable one—from which proceed these details, "is, that up to this moment the best possible temper had been displayed on both sides, notwithstanding the little occurrences recorded."

Affairs, however, soon became more serious. Immense masses began to parade the public thoroughfares. Troops in vast numbers were on foot, and occasionally, where the masses became more than ordinarily dense, charges of cavalry were made upon the people, and the streets were cleared with wonderful quickness. The shops were all closed, and business of every kind suspended. The crowd generally directed itself towards the Place de la Madeleine, (whence, if the banquet had gone on, the procession of the Deputies was to have started,) to the Place de la Concorde, and to the neighbourhood of the Chamber of Deputies. Masses of men in blouses, frequently amounting to thousands, were to be seen marching together with a certain degree of order, and apparently under regular leaders. A large body of students also paraded the Boulevards, singing the *Marseillaise* at the pitch of their voices, and vociferating "*A bas Guizot! à bas le Ministère! Vive la Reforme!*" accompanied with groans or cheers, as the case might be. Municipal Guards, horse and foot, drawn up in different quarters, occasionally charged the people where they assembled in large numbers, or appeared threatening in aspect; thousands upon thousands of cavalry and infantry were in all the principal squares, boulevards, and quays;

and multitudes of anxious spectators crowded the windows wherever there was a chance of seeing the proceedings. Shortly afterwards, a regiment of infantry and several squadrons drew up near the church of the Madeleine, where the crowd was most dense. A few minutes afterwards, an immense body of persons, said to amount to upwards of six thousand, appeared from the direction of the Boulevards, but no one could exactly say whence it came. They marched in procession, holding each other's arms, and singing the *Marseillaise* in general chorus. When passing, they gave three cheers for Reform, and then proceeded, without stopping, to the Place de la Concorde, their evident intention being to make their way to the Chamber of Deputies. At the bridge opposite the Chamber of Deputies, however, they were stopped by a large body of cavalry and infantry. They were then brought to a standstill, and their numbers were so great that they filled the whole of the Place de la Concorde, one of the largest squares in Europe. At this moment, a portion of the regiment of cavalry at the bridge charged the mass, separated it, and drove a considerable portion back towards the Boulevards, whilst the rest was driven into the Champs Elysées and down the Rue Rivoli. The whole of the place was cleared. The portion of the crowd driven back towards the Boulevards, and still marching in order and arm-in-arm, had four National Guards at their head, armed with their sabres. In the Place de la Madeleine an attempt was made by the troops to disperse them, but only partially succeeded, and shortly afterwards they met another large body, the leaders of whom fraternally embraced the National Guards. On arriving in front of the Hotel des Affaires Etrangères (M. Guizot's), they sung the *Marseillaise* in full chorus. They began to cry out, "*à bas Guizot! à bas le Ministère,*" and the excitement was evidently increasing. During this time a body of the Municipal Guards (infantry), who were drawn up within the gates, deliberately loaded their muskets, and prepared to fire; but a squadron of cavalry, emerging from the Rue des Capucines, at the same moment charged, struck some of the most active with the side of their sabres, and very soon were successful in dispersing the crowd, as well as relieving the residence of the President of the Council from the surmised danger. In a small

street in the neighbourhood of the Rue Vivienne, a body of men attempted to break into a gunmaker's shop, but failed. They next attacked the shop of a *marchand de bois*, and the firewood which it contained they formed into stakes; but nothing serious had yet been done. In the different attacks made by the troops, some severe blows were occasionally dealt, and a considerable number of persons received sabre-cuts and severe bayonet-wounds. The Government still considered it an ordinary riot; and while cries from the crowd of, "*Vive la ligne*" were heard in every street from compact bodies, which appeared from time to time, whenever a regiment of infantry passed, a number of prisoners were taken by the police, and conducted off on the charge of uttering sedition.

Matters, however, soon became more serious, and towards five o'clock, the Government, which had previously refused to call out the National Guards, was compelled to make an appeal to them. The *rappel* was beaten in all the streets; but so unanimous was the detestation of the Ministry, and so general the demand for reform, that the Guard refused to turn out, except in very small numbers. On the Place de la Bourse, at six o'clock, there were four officers and three privates. In the first arrondissement, out of 5000 men only 100 could be mustered. The answer of the others was, "We will turn out for the protection of Paris on one condition—viz. that we cry 'Vive la Reforme!' and 'à bas Guizot!'"

This appeared so unfavourable to Ministers that they refused. A few only of their own adherents or court dependents in the Guard were induced to turn out; and Paris was, consequently, occupied by troops alone during Tuesday night. Cavalry patrols were kept constantly moving through the city, and all access to the quarters of the Tuileries was stopped by detachments stationed at the ends of streets leading in that direction. The pavement in the Rue St. Honoré was raised, and in the Champs Elysées several omnibuses were overturned for the purpose of forming barricades. On the approach of the troops, the people burnt the omnibuses. A number of windows were broken in the Rue St. Honoré. During the night various gunsmiths' shops were pillaged, and the gas-lamps throughout Paris generally were broken; groups of students and youths

paraded the streets, singing the *Marseillaise*, and other popular songs. A post of soldiers was surprised and disarmed, and the commander of the Tuileries disabled by a stone.

A short time previously, the shop of a gunsmith was forced open, and thirty-five muskets, with eight or nine pair of pistols, taken away. When the people began to attack, its proprietor exclaimed that he was armed, and if they attempted to enter, would at least kill one. "Nothing is further from our thoughts," said they, "than to insult you or your family, but we must have arms;" and they made good their word. Ten minutes afterwards, about twenty National Guards arrived, and proceeded to load their muskets.

Towards midnight, some individuals armed with muskets and pistols, hastily erected a barricade with paving-stones, in the Rue St. Denis. They also fired on a patrol, but a strong detachment of the Municipal Guard having suddenly marched up, they were put to flight. Some arrests were made by the National Guard in the quarter of the markets. The posts and picquets in this direction were doubled; and at twelve o'clock, the military preparations which were made deprived the rioters of all means of continuing the disturbances. The streets in the vicinity of the Rue St. Honoré, the Palais Royal, the markets, the Rue St. Denis, the Rue St. Martin, the Quais, and the Boulevards, were tranquil, and only patrols were to be seen. Shortly after midnight, barricades were formed in the Rue Grenetat. A combat there took place, and several persons were killed or wounded. Conflicts also occurred in the Rues Tiquetonne, Bourg l'Abbe, and Transnonain. Only thirty or forty of the insurgents had arms, and their ammunition was soon exhausted. Five prisoners having been lodged in the Rue de Baubourg, their companions made an attempt to release them. This led to a bloody struggle, in the course of which a municipal guard was killed. Eventually the Municipal Guard succeeded in dispersing the people, and detaining the prisoners. The Boulevards, from the Place de la Madeleine to the Porte Saint Martin, were occupied during the whole night by upwards of 6000 troops, and fires were lit for their bivouacs. The Place du Carrousel was also strongly occupied during the night by

a military force. In the course of the evening, the King, accompanied by the Duke de Nemours and the Duke de Montpensier, passed the soldiers and National Guard in review, and was said to be loudly cheered; but throughout Paris the feeling was strong against M. Guizot. *A bas Guizot! La tête de Guizot! A vingt-cinq francs la tête de Guizot!* were the popular cries. The movement was not confined to the merely poor and destitute. The opponents of the troops were for the most part composed of tradesmen and mechanics; and, in many instances, masters shut up their establishments, in order to afford their men an opportunity of taking part in this manifestation. During the night there was severe fighting in the Rue Montmartre, and in the Faubourgs St. Denis and St. Antoine. In the Faubourg St. Denis the fighting was very severe. In the Faubourg St. Antoine the people were early victorious. In the quarter of the Temple the streets were strewed with broken glass to prevent the cavalry from charging. The number of killed and wounded was considerable, and two hundred prisoners were captured. Yet the *Journal des Débats*, the ministerial organ, had the audacity next day to declare that no lives had been sacrificed.

But next morning the people arose in their vengeance. Early on Wednesday, the National Guard of the second arrondissement, to the number of about 500 or 600, assembled in the Rue Lepelletier, opposite the Opera. It was at first supposed that their intentions were hostile to the people, but the latter soon acquired a conviction that they were animated with the same sentiments as the immense majority of the population. Their motto was,—"Reform, and the dismissal of M. Guizot." When the intentions of the citizen soldiers became known, an immense crowd assembled before them, crying, "*Vive la Garde National!*" "*Vive la Reforme!*" The latter cry was loudly repeated by the National Guards, the officers joining in it, and flourishing their swords. Both then fraternized, and a guard having stepped forward, said, "A difference of opinion may exist between us relative to the expediency and nature of reform, but we are unanimous in condemning Guizot. Down with Guizot." The cry was echoed by the multitude, and shortly afterwards the National Guards formed in line, marched up the Rue Lepelletier, repaired

along the Boulevards to the Rue Richelieu, which they descended towards the Tuileries amidst deafening cries of "*Vive la Reforme!*" and "Down with the Ministry!" Instead of entering the Place du Carrousel, they proceeded along the Rue de Rivoli, and drew up between the Rue du Dauphin and the Rue du 29 Julliet. They had no sooner taken their position, than an officer of General Jacqueminot rode up, and after exchanging a few words with the lieutenant-colonel, rode back in all haste to the palace. An immense crowd then assembled round the National Guard, and their cries of "*Vive la Reforme!*" and "Down with the Ministry!" could be distinctly heard by the King and royal family. Still no troops were ordered in that direction, and the people and the Nationals were left quietly to fraternize, although the two extremities of the street were occupied by an immense force. In the meantime the Nationals of the 3rd Legion collected to the number of 3000 on and about the Place des Petits Peres; and their officers having held a council, agreed to depute their colonel to the King, to acquaint his Majesty with the wishes of the National Guard—reform, and the dismissal of the cabinet. That officer immediately proceeded to the palace, but was not admitted into the royal presence; he saw General Jacqueminot, the commandant-general of the National Guard, who promised that he would instantly carry the memorial to the King. The National Guards remained assembled on the square, awaiting the return of the colonel, their determination being to march upon the Tuileries if the reply was negative. Occasionally strong patrols were sent out to interpose, if necessary, between the combatants, but no hostilities took place in the neighbourhood, the troops quietly remaining on the adjoining Place des Victoires. The Nationals filed by them, crying for reform and the dismissal of Ministers, surrounded and followed by an immense mass of people uttering the same cries, and the soldiers by their countenances testified that they concurred in that wish. In one of the by-streets a detachment of troops stationed there to intercept the passage, received bread and wine from the people, and their officer, looking on, encouraged them to accept the provisions offered.

Meanwhile, in other parts of the city disturbances were

renewed. Another attempt was made to rally the National Guard, who on the previous evening had refused to act; and at length some of the chiefs said if they would turn out they might cry what they chose; but it was necessary to show themselves, and put an end to the horrid butcheries of the Garde Municipale, who were cutting down harmless women and children. At the beginning of Tuesday, the Garde Municipale was forbearing, but towards the evening it distinguished itself by the most atrocious barbarity. In the Place du Caire it fired on some fugitives, and a woman passing by was shot dead. The National Guard who were on this spot, indignant at the conduct of the police, turned upon them, and put them to flight. In the Rue Montmartre a child was killed, and several persons were wounded. On the Pont St. Michel, the police behaved so atrociously, that the National Guard interfered, and snatched their victims out of their hands.

In the Rue Lepelletier, a strange scene was passing. A platoon there closed the street on the Boulevard, and loud cries of "*Vive la Garde Nationale!*" resounded from the populace. A squadron of cuirassiers, supported by half a squadron of *chasseurs à cheval*, arrived at this moment. Observing the obstacle, the *chef d'escadron* gave orders to draw swords. The ranks of the National Guards closed. The cries of the people redoubled, although not a man of them was armed. The squadron made a half movement on the Rue Lepelletier, when the officer in command of the National Guards drew his sword, advanced, and saluted him. A few words were exchanged. They separated. The one placed himself at the head of his soldiers, and gave the word to wheel and "forward," and they resumed their march, accompanied by cheers and clapping of hands from the multitude. The officer of National Guards returned very quietly to his post, and sheathed his sword. "I am told," adds a bystander, "that the words exchanged were these—'Who are those men?' 'They are the people.' 'And those in uniform?' 'They are the Second Legion of the National Guard of Paris.' 'The people must disperse.' 'They will not.' 'I shall use force.' 'Sir, the National Guard sympathize with the people, the people who demand Reform.' 'They must disperse.' 'They will not.' 'I must use force.' 'Sir, we, the National Guards,

sympathize in the desire for Reform, and will defend them,'" and, it is added, that the officer and the cuirassiers cried, "*Vive la Reforme!*" as they galloped away.

In another direction, a similar scene was passing. In the Place des Petits Pères, a column of cavalry and infantry, Municipal Guards *à cheval*, cuirassiers, and Municipal Guards *à pied*, and infantry of the line arrived, as at the end of the Rue Lepelletier, and made a move like the others, as if to wheel into the street; but the attitude of the National Guard made them pause, and immediately the word was given to continue their march, the people rending the air with cries of "*Vive la Reforme!*" "*Vive la Garde National!*" "*Vive la Ligne!*" Shortly afterwards, a precisely similar occurrence took place; but this time it ended with the absolute retreat of the troops, who turned round and retired.

At the *mairie* of the 3rd arrondissement, a still more striking incident occurred; the National Guards there having declared for Reform, the Municipal were ordered to disarm them, and advanced with charged bayonets for the purpose, but the movement was imitated by the National, the bayonets crossed, and blood was about to flow, when the Colonel of the National Guards cried out, "Hold, soldiers! These are the people; respect the people." The effect was electric. The Municipal Guards raised their bayonets, shouldered arms, and marched off.

Meanwhile, a deputation of the others had proceeded to the palace to represent that the King and peace of Paris could only be preserved by a change of ministry. M. Rambuteau, Prefect of the Seine, simultaneously waited upon Louis-Philippe to inform him that the Municipal Council had decided on demanding the resignation of his cabinet. His Majesty immediately convoked a council of Ministers, and brought the subject before them. The Ministers are said to have replied, "*Sire, renvoyez-nous,*" and having accepted their resignation, the King sent for M. Molé, who replied, that he accepted of the *ministère de l'émeute*. At four o'clock, Guizot and his colleagues gave in their resignation. This was announced by the Duc de Montpensier in the following words:—"*Vous aurez la Reforme — le Ministère est changé.*" The report spread like wildfire, and the news was received with shouts of joy by persons of all

classes. Everybody said, "*tant mieux.*" "Who are to be the new Ministers?" said one. "No matter," said another, "we cannot have greater scoundrels than Guizot and his crew." At the office of the *National*, the news of the change of Ministers was formally announced; but the crowd replied, "*Cela ne suffira pas.*" "There shall be no mistake this time," was heard from a hundred tongues.

The following was the composition of this Ministry of an hour:—

Count Molé, President of the Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs.

M. Dufaure, Minister of the Interior.

M. Vivien, of Justice.

M. Billault, of Marine.

M. Gouin, of Agriculture and Commerce.

M. Hypolite Passy, of Finance.

M. de Tocqueville, of Public Instruction.

M. Lanyer, or Count Daru, of Public Works.

The Minister of War was not known.

Their duty immediately took them to the Chamber of Deputies, where an important scene was now passing. The Chamber met on Wednesday, at five o'clock. A deputation of officers of the National Guard had previously made their way through the Place de la Concorde, where an immense crowd was congregated, and across the bridge to the Chamber of Deputies, for the purpose of presenting a petition to the Chamber in favour of Reform. The battalion on duty immediately took up their arms, and went to meet the approaching party by cheers. At the middle of the Pont de la Concorde the two columns joined. General Trezel, the Minister of War, who accompanied the battalion, addressed the advancing party, remonstrated with them on the nature of their proceedings, and the commander, by his instructions, declared that he would not allow the petitioners to pass. M. Odillon Barrot, and M. Garnier Pages, then went forward for the purpose of communicating with the advancing party, but on some representations being made to them, they retired and returned to the Chamber. The petition, consequently, was not presented.

Meanwhile an impressive spectacle was presented within. The members of the Opposition mustered strong, and M. Vavin, one of them, a deputy of Paris, rose amidst a

profound silence, and said that he had a solemn duty to accomplish, which was to call the Minister of the Interior to account for the scenes then passing in the capital. During twenty-four hours, serious disturbances had taken place in Paris, and the population remarked with astonishment the absence of the National Guard. On Monday, orders had been given for its attendance. Why had they been countermanded? Why was it only after a first collision that the drummers were permitted to beat to arms? If from the beginning the National Guard had been called out, fatal misfortunes would have been avoided. M. Guizot replied that he did not deem it expedient to reply to those questions. "I have nothing," he said, "to say at the present moment to the interpellations of the honourable member. The King has sent for Count Molé, who is empowered to form a ministry." (Loud cries of "Bravo," and cheers followed this announcement, which appeared to annoy M. Guizot.) He then continued, "We are not to be prevented by such manifestations as those I now hear, as long as we remain in office, which will be till our successors are appointed, from doing our duty. We shall consider ourselves answerable for all that may happen. We shall act in everything we do according to our best judgment and our consciences, and according to what we consider the interests of the country." After some interruption created by this announcement, M. Odillon Barrot rose and said—"In consequence of the situation of the Cabinet, I demand the adjournment of the proposition which I made yesterday (the impeachment)—(loud cries of yes, yes, and no, no.) I will submit to the decision of the Chamber on the point" (no, no.) The President then put the question as to the adjournment of M. Odillon Barrot's proposition. About one hundred members of the Opposition supported the adjournment; the whole of the Conservatives were against it, and the Chamber immediately rose in great agitation.

When Guizot, it was remarked, was entering the Chamber, before announcing his resignation, the National Guard on duty saluted him with "*à bas Guizot!*" "*Vive Louis-Philippe.*" He looked annoyed, but passed on without making any remark. A minute afterwards, M. Muret (de Bort) came out of the Chamber, and announced that Guizot

and his colleagues were out of office. The information was received with loud cheers, and immediately spread like wildfire. In less than half an hour it was known all over Paris.

But a terrible catastrophe had meantime occurred. While the crowd was assembled before the hotel of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and were uttering cries, they were suddenly fired on without previous notice, and fifty-two persons fell dead or wounded. A shot from within, which grazed a colonel's horse, is said to have caused this discharge; but the event is involved in mystery. The result, however, was quickly visible. A cry of vengeance was immediately uttered by the people, the victims of surmised ambuscade, and several of them hastened into the neighbouring streets, shouting, "To arms! to arms! We are being assassinated!" Shortly afterwards, a cart arrived at the offices of the *National*, containing dead bodies. The whole was surrounded by people weeping and full of indignation, who, showing the bloody bodies, cried, "They are assassins who have slain them! We will avenge them! Give us arms!—arms!" The torches, casting their glare by turns on the bodies and on the people, added to the violent emotions of the scene. M. Garnier-Pages, being at that moment in the offices of the *National*, addressed the people. He promised he should employ his efforts to obtain for those thus attacked the satisfaction required from impious and atrocious Ministers. The funeral train left the offices, conducted and lighted in the same manner: they conveyed the bodies to distant quarters; and the incident cost Louis-Philippe his throne.

The cry immediately arose for vengeance. During the whole of the night the people were busily engaged in erecting barricades in the principal streets, as well as in those smaller ones in which it might appear of importance to prevent the entrance of the military. Count Molé meanwhile declined the task of forming a new Ministry! The King sent late on Wednesday evening for M. Thiers, and that gentleman at once undertook to submit to his Majesty the list of a new Cabinet, making a proviso, however, that he should be permitted to join with him, as one of his colleagues, M. Odillon Barrot. To this his Majesty consented to accede; and Thursday morning, at a little

before 8 o'clock, as a number of people were busily employed in erecting a barricade at the end of the Rue Taitbout, close to the boulevard, they saw a number of gentlemen approaching from the end nearest to the Rue des Trois Frères. Some of the crowd immediately recognised them, and loud cries of "*Vive M. Thiers*," "*Vive M. Barrot*," burst forth. With these gentlemen were M. Duvergier de Hauranne, M. de Rémusat, Prince de la Moscowa, and other members belonging to the Opposition. The whole party walked on towards the palace, followed by cries of "*Vive la Reforme*." "Yes, yes," said M. Thiers, "you shall have it." The whole way from the Boulevards to the Rue St. Honoré, was intercepted by immense barricades, some of them considerably higher than a man's stature. At each of these impediments, M. Thiers and the other gentlemen were obliged to pass singly, and as the rumour spread that the hon. gentleman was going to the King, loud cheers continued to greet him. At about ten o'clock, M. Odillon Barrot passed up the Rue Sainte Anne, on foot, towards the Boulevards, proclaiming General Lamoriciere Commandant of the National Guard of Paris, and accompanied by a numerous escort of National Guards and citizens intermingled. On arriving at the corner of the Rue Richelieu, M. O. Barrot gave orders to a troop of dragoons and the 21st regiment of the line to proceed to their barracks. The order was immediately obeyed amidst shouts of "*Vive Lamoriciere*," "*Vive Odillon Barrot*," *Vive le Vingt-unieme de ligne*," the soldiers fraternizing with the people. The caissons of the regiment were in an instant broken open, and their contents distributed amongst the crowds. As a strong picket of the National Guard was passing before the Imprimerie Royale, followed by a numerous crowd, shouting "Long live Reform! Long live the National Guard!" a detachment of the Municipal Guard fired on them, and wounded seven. Great exasperation was produced by this, but it was somewhat calmed down when the mob learned the downfall of the Guizot Ministry.

The following proclamation was posted at the Bourse:—

"Orders have been given to cease firing everywhere. We have just been charged by the King to form a ministry. The Chamber will be dissolved, and an appeal

made to the country. General Lamoriciere has been appointed Commandant of the National Guards.

" THIERS,
" ODILLON BARROT,
" DUVERGIER DE HAURANNE,
" LAMORICIERE."

This proclamation, if it had been published the night before, or at even an early hour in the morning, might have satisfied the people—but it came too late. By the time it was issued, the people felt that they were the victors, for not only had the whole of the National Guard of Paris taken their part, but a large portion of the soldiers of the line had openly joined them, while many more had refused to fire upon them. A piece of duplicity on the part of the authorities, which was discovered, had also the effect of a suspected snare. On the orders being given to suspend the firing at the barricades, the troops were withdrawn, and the people were informed that they had been ordered back to their barracks, but they soon learnt that they had been drawn round the Tuileries for its defence.

There was an immediate cry of "*Aux Tuileries,*" and from all parts of the capital immense bodies of the insurgents, now well armed, and marching along with the National Guards, were to be seen directing their way towards the Palais Royal and the Palace of the Tuileries. The suddenness and unanimity of this movement were so extraordinary that it is impossible to believe the *mot d'ordre* was not passed from one body of the insurgents to another. By twelve o'clock the whole of that quarter of the town was invested, and it was evident that an attack was contemplated, which very soon commenced.

On Thursday morning, after the dismissal of the Guizot ministry, the King and Queen, with the Duke and Duchess de Nemours, the Duke and Duchess de Montpensier, and the Duke and Duchess Auguste of Saxe-Coburg, remained in the Palace of the Tuileries. The King was surrounded by a large number of his most intimate personal friends, among whom were the Duke de Broglie and several other members of the Chamber of Peers. M. Thiers and many other leading deputies were also present, all anxious to

advise with the King as to the best course of proceeding under existing circumstances. The Duke de Nemours at this time had the command of the troops in the court-yard of the Palace. The insurgents were fast gathering and advancing in large bodies in the direction of the Tuileries. The National Guard gave way before them, and on nearing the Palace, entreated that the artillery might not be used on the people. The Duke de Nemours yielded to their solicitation, and not a shot was fired. As the mob rapidly increased, however, the King was advised to leave the Palace, a step which his Majesty at length reluctantly consented to adopt. "At this moment, "says a by-stander, "the expression 'a great misfortune' (*'une grande infortune'*) was heard, and the King, his right arm passed under the left arm of the Queen, on whom he appeared to lean for support, was seen to approach from the gate of the Tuileries, in the midst of the horsemen, followed by about thirty persons in different uniforms. The Queen walked with a firm step, and cast around looks of assurance and anger intermingled. The King wore a black coat with a common round hat, and displayed no orders. The Queen was in full mourning. A report was circulated that they were going to the Chamber of Deputies to depose the act of abdication. Cries of 'Vive la Reforme!' 'Vive la France!' and even by two or three persons, 'Vive le Roi!' were heard. The procession had scarcely passed the Pont Tournant, and arrived at the pavement surrounding the obelisk, when the King, the Queen, and the whole party made a sudden halt, apparently without any necessity. In a moment they were surrounded by a crowd on foot and horseback, and so crowded that they had no longer their freedom of motion. Louis-Philippe appeared alarmed at this sudden approach. The spot, fatally chosen by an effect of chance, produced a strange feeling. A few paces off, a Bourbon King (Louis the Sixteenth) would have been happy to have experienced no other treatment. Louis-Philippe turned quickly round, let go the Queen's arm, took off his hat, raised it in the air, and cried out something which the noise prevented being heard; in fact, the cries and *pêle mêle* were general. The Queen became alarmed at no longer feeling the King's arm, and turned round with extreme haste. At this moment, I said,

"Madame, ne craignez rien, continuez, les rangs vont s'ouvrir devant vous." Whether her anxiety gave a false interpretation to my intention or not I am ignorant, but pushing back my hand, she exclaimed, "Laissez-moi," with a most irritated accent; she seized hold of the King's arm, and they both turned their steps towards two small black carriages with one horse each. In the first were two young children. The King took the left, and the Queen the right, and the children, with their faces close to the glass of the vehicle, looking at the crowd with the utmost curiosity; the coachman whipped his horse violently—with so much rapidity did it take place, that the coach appeared to be rather carried than driven away. It passed before me, surrounded by the cavalry and National Guards present, and cuirassiers and dragoons. The second carriage, in which were two females, followed the other at the same pace, and the escort, which amounted to about 200 men, set off at a full gallop, taking the water side, towards St. Cloud. The horse in the coach in which the King was could not have gone the whole way, so furiously did he gallop under the lashes of the coachman, whilst the surrounding crowds vociferated that they were taking flight. With the King and Queen, departed the Duchess de Nemours and three of her children, the Duke and Duchess Auguste of Saxe-Coburg, their family, and the Duchess de Montpensier. The Duke de Montpensier left at the same time, in command of a small escort which accompanied the royal fugitives on their road to Drieux. When the King and the other members of the Royal family arrived at St. Cloud, they got into an omnibus and went on to Versailles; but his future course is unknown.

After the departure of the royal family, the mob proceeded onwards in the direction of the Tuileries, and a sharp firing began. On arriving opposite the Palace, they commenced breaking the windows, and in a very short period every pane of glass in the principal front was demolished. The National Guard had now entirely given way, and the mob having increased tenfold, the Duke de Nemours, finding resistance hopeless, retired through the gardens of the Palace with a small band of soldiers, who still remained faithful to him. The Duke then learning that the Duchess d'Orleans, with her two young sons,

had gone to the Chamber of Deputies, followed her thither, and on arriving there left his troop of soldiers on guard at the entrance, while he himself proceeded into the Chamber, where the discussion on the question of accepting the Count de Paris as King was at the time proceeding.

About one o'clock M. Sauzet took the chair, in presence of about three hundred members. Shortly afterwards the Duchess of Orleans arrived at the Palace with her two sons, and soon appeared at the left door, accompanied by the two Princes and the Dukes de Nemours and Montpensier. The young Count de Paris entered first, led by one of the members of the House. The hall was then forcibly entered by a multitude of armed men of the lower orders and National Guards. The greatest agitation and uproar prevailed, and when silence was restored, M. Dupin rose and announced to the assembly that the King had abdicated in favour of his grandson, and conferred the regency on the Duchess of Orleans. A voice from the public gallery—"It is too late!" An indescribable scene of tumult ensued. A number of deputies collected round the Duchess and her children, and the Duke de Nemours and Montpensier. National Guards also rallied round the royal family, M. Marie then ascended the tribune, and said that, in the critical situation in which the capital was placed, it was urgently necessary to adopt some measures calculated to calm the population. Since morning the evil had made immense progress. Shall we proclaim the Duke de Nemours or the Duchess of Orleans regent? M. Cremieux, who followed, was of opinion to uphold the new government. M. Genoude thought that an appeal ought to be addressed to the people. M. Odillon Barrot next ascended the tribune, and advocated the rights of the Duchess of Orleans. M. Larochejaquelin supported the appeal to the people. M. Lamartine and M. Ledru Rollin insisted on the necessity of appointing a provisional government. During the discussion the insurgents arrived, and having easily overpowered the troops on guard, they occupied all the outlets and entered the Chamber itself in large numbers, bearing arms, flags, and banners, and uttering fierce imprecations. One man is said to have fired at the President, who escaped, but was immediately thrust out of his seat, and with the other deputies obliged to give way. Others,

and with more apparent truth, represent that M. Sauzet put on his hat, and attempted to conclude the sitting. The Duke de Nemours had at this moment the Count de Paris by the hand, the Duchess of Orleans leading her second son, the Duke de Chartres. So frightful was the rush, that both the young princes were separated from their protectors, and it was with extreme difficulty that the Duke de Chartres was removed, he having been lost in the *mêlee* for some time. There now appeared no alternative for the Duchess of Orleans and her brother-in-law but to proceed to the Invalides, which they accordingly did, attended by a small band of soldiers, who behaved with the greatest devotedness to the last. To the Invalides the royal fugitives were pursued by the infuriated people; and, a violent attack being made upon the hotel, it was deemed prudent for the Duke and the Duchess to separate, and take the best means at hand for their respective safety. When the princes retired, the members of the centre followed, leaving those of the left remaining in the hall. The people then called M. Dupont de l'Eure to the presidential chair. The tribune and seats were occupied by them and the National Guards; and the names of a Provisional Government were proclaimed amidst a scene unequalled since the days of the Convention.

The following are the names of the Provisional Government; and subjoined are its first decrees:—

M. M. Arago.	Ferdinand.
Dupont, (De L'Eure.)	Flocon.
Lamartine.	Louis Blanc.
Ledru Rollin.	Marrast.
Marie.	Albert, (a working man.)

Proclamation of the Provisional Government.

"To the French People.

"A retrograde and oligarchical government has been overthrown by the heroism of the people of Paris.

"The government has fled, leaving after it a trace of blood, which precludes for ever its return.

"The blood of the people has flowed, as in July; but this time the generous blood shall not be deceived. It has achieved a national and popular government, in accord with

the rights, the progress, and the will of this great and generous people.

"A Provisional Government, sprung by acclamation and urgency from the voice of the people, and the deputies of the departments in the sitting of the 24th, is invested momentarily with the care of the organizing and ensuring the national victory.

"It is composed of—

"MM. DUPONT (de l'Eure).
" LAMARTINE.
" CREMIEUX.
" ARAGO (of the Institute).
" LEDRU ROLLIN.
" GARNIER PAGES.
" MARIE.

"The Government has for secretaries—

"MM. ARMAND MARRAST.
" LOUIS BLANC,
" FERDINAND FLOCON, and
" ALBERT.

"These citizens have not hesitated one instant in accepting the patriotic mission imposed upon them by urgency.

"When blood flows, when the capital of France is on fire, the commission of the Provisional Government is derived from the public peril and the public safety. The whole of France will understand it, and will afford it the concurrence of patriotism. Under the popular government proclaimed by the Provisional Government every citizen is a magistrate.

"Frenchmen, give the world the example that Paris has given to France; prepare yourselves by order and by confidence in yourselves, for the powerful institutions which you are to be called upon to give to yourselves.

"The Provisional Government wills for a REPUBLIC, saving the ratification of the French people, which is to be immediately consulted.

"Neither the people of Paris nor the Provisional Government pretends to substitute their opinion for the opinion of the citizens on the definitive form of the government, which the sovereignty of the nation will proclaim.

"The unity of the nation formed henceforth of all the classes of the nation which compose it;

"The government of the nation by itself;

"Liberty, equality, and fraternity for principles;

"The people for motto and *mot d'ordre.*

"Such is the democratic Government which France owes to herself, and from which our efforts should be insured.

"These are the first acts of the Provisional Government.

"M. Dupont.	M. Carnot.
"M. de Lamartine.	M. Goudchaux.
"M. Arago.	M. Garnier-Pages.
"M. Cremieux.	M. Recurt.
"General Bedeau.	M. Guinard.
"M. Marie.	General Covaignac.
"M. Ledru-Rollin.	General de Courtais.
"M. Bethmont.	

"The other mayors are provisionally retained, as well as the adjoints, under the name of mayors-adjoints of arrondissement.

"The Prefecture of Police is under the orders of the Mayor of Paris, and will be reconstituted under another title.

"The Municipal Guard is dissolved. The guard of the city of Paris is entrusted to the National Guard, under the orders of M. Courtais, Superior Commandant of the National Guard of Paris."

After the Government had been installed, amid great acclamations, at the Hotel de Ville, the following additional proclamations were published:—

"In the Name of the Sovereign People.

"Citizens—The Provisional Government has just been installed; it is composed, by the will of the people, of the citizens Frederick Arago, Louis Blanc, Marie, Lamartine, Flocon, Ledru Rollin, Recurt, Marrast, Albert—to watch over the execution of the measures which will be taken by the Government; the will of the people has also chosen for delegates in the department of the police the citizens Caussidiere and Sobrier.

"The same sovereign will of the people has designated

the citizen Et. Arago to the Direction-General of the Post-office.

"As first execution of the orders given by the Provisional Government, it is advised that the bakers, or furnishers of provisions of Paris, keep their shops open to all those who may have occasion for them.

"It is expressly recommended to the people not to quit their arms, their positions, or their revolutionary attitude. They have often been deceived by treason; it is important that they should not give opportunities to attacks as criminal as they are terrible."

"In the name of the French people,

"It is interdicted to the members of the ex-Chamber of Peers to meet.

"Paris, 24th February.

"DUPONT (de l'Eure),
"LAMARTINE,
"LEDRU-ROLLIN,
"AD. CREMIEUX,
"MARIE,
"ARAGO."

"THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT TO THE NATIONAL GUARD.

"Citizens,—Your attitude in these late and glorious days has been such as was to be expected from men long accustomed to struggles for liberty. Thanks to your fraternal union with the people and the schools, the revolution is accomplished. The country will be grateful to you for it. At the present hour all the citizens form part of the National Guard; all are bound to co-operate actively with the Provisional Government for the regular triumph of public liberties. The Provisional Government reckons on your zeal and your devotedness to second its efforts in the difficult mission which the people have conferred upon it.

"The members of the Provisional Government,

"DUPONT (de l'Eure). CREMIEUX.
"ARAGO. LEDRU-ROLLIN.
"MARIE. GARNIER-PAGES.
"LAMARTINE.
"LOUIS BLANC, FLOCON,
"ARMAND MARRAST, ALBERT, } Secretaries."

"IN THE NAME OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE,

"The Provisional Government decrees:—

"M. Dupont (de l'Eure) is named Provisional President of the Council without portfolio.

"M. de Lamartine, Provisional Minister of Foreign Affairs.

"M. Cremieux, Provisional Minister of Justice.

"M. Ledru-Rollin, Provisional Minister of the Interior.

"M. Michael Goudchaux, Provisional Minister of Marine.

"General Bedeau, Provisional Minister of War.

"M. Carnot, Provisional Minister of Public Instruction, (public worship will form a division of this ministry.)

"M. Bethmont, Provisional Minister of Commerce.

"M. Marie, Provisional Minister of Public Works.

"General Cavaignac, Governor-General of Algeria.

"The Municipal Guard is dissolved.

"M. Garnier-Pages is named Mayor of Paris.

"MM. Guinart and Recut are appointed Deputies to the Mayor of Paris.

"M. Flotard is named Secretary-General.

"All the other Mayors of Paris, as also the deputy-mayors, are maintained as mayors and deputy-mayors of arrondissements.

"The prefecture of police is placed under the dependence of the Mayor of Paris.

"The maintenance of the security of the city of Paris is confided to the patriotism of the National Guard, under the chief command given to Colonel de Courtais.

"The troops of the first military division will unite with the National Guard

"A. CREMIEUX. DUPONT (de l'Eure).
"LAMARTINE LEDRU-ROLLIN.
"MARIE ARAGO.
"GARNIER-PAGES.

"Members of the Provisional Government."

"IN THE NAME OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE,

"The Provisional Government decrees:—

"The Chamber of Deputies is dissolved. The Chamber of Peers is prohibited from meeting.

"A National Assembly will be convoked as soon as the

Provisional Government shall have regulated the measures of order and police necessary for the vote of all the citizens.

"LAMARTINE, LEDRU-ROLIN.
LOUIS BLANC, Secretary."

But meanwhile, important events had occurred in Paris. The ex-ministers, Guizot and his confederates, immediately on receiving the intelligence, fled. They were assembled at the hotel of the Minister of the Interior, meditating further aggressions, when the news of the King's abdication was brought in, and they instantly took to ignominious flight by the posterns. There was an attempt on the part of the criminals confined in the different jails to escape, but they were watched, and the public tranquillized on that score.

The people quickly attacked and carried the hotel, as well as that of Affaires d'Etrangères (Guizot's). They also, it is said, vented their fury on the balustrades of the Rue Basse du Rempart, opposite Guizot's, and threatened to destroy the street, on account of the blood spilt on the previous night. The Hotel of Foreign Affairs was converted into an ambulance for the wounded, and the people, dipping their fingers in the blood, are represented to have exhibited their indignation by writing "*A mort Guizot,*" on the walls.

It was at the Palais Royal, however, the ancestral domain of the Orleans family, that the chief fury of the populace was evinced. A murderous conflict there ensued, and five hundred are said to have fallen. But the details are yet imperfect, and the loss apparently exaggerated.

A terrible catastrophe took place at the "poste de garde," opposite the Palais Royal, in the Rue St. Honoré. The men (chiefly Municipal Guards, who had been previously distinguished for their ferocity) occupying that post resisted every summons to surrender, even though their personal safety was guaranteed. Ultimately, after interchange of fusillade and much loss of life, fire was applied to the guard-house, which placed its occupants in the horrible alternative of either being burned to death or shot on issuing from the door. Some chose the latter fate, and fell under a shower of balls. The remains of more than twenty persons were taken out of the smouldering ruins of the conflagration. The palace, meanwhile, was captured and sacked by the populace, the throne burnt, and furniture, as well as

pictures representing the various phases of Louis-Philippe's adventurous career, destroyed. All was the work of little more than an hour. At twelve o'clock the palace was assailed, and about one the victorious captors proceeded to attack the Tuileries. An outline of this has already been given; yet the following details of the event from the *Réforme* newspaper will be read with interest:—

"Different versions," remarks this journal, "of the taking of the Tuileries have been given. The event seems to us of such importance as to have caused us to seek to know the details. We give them as exact and as circumstantial as possible. The 5th Legion of the National Guard, having its major, its lieutenant-colonel, two chiefs of battalions, and several officers at its head, marched on the Tuileries. It had arrived at the Rue de l'Echelle, when firing was heard on the Place du Palais Royal; it was the post of the Chateau d'Eu which recommenced the combat. At the same instant the Legion hastened to the place where the firing took place, and with it the thousands of combatants who followed it. At this moment Marshal Gerard appeared with a branch of verdure in his hand, enjoining the combatants to cease firing. The post of the Chateau refused, and the combat continued. The Marshal returned to the corner of the Rue St. Honoré. At that moment an officer of the Chateau appeared, bearing a paper in his hands—it was the abdication of Louis-Philippe. The document was taken from the hands of the officer by a lieutenant of the 5th Legion, the citizen Aubert Roche, and remitted to be preserved to the citizen Lagrange, of Lyons. The firing continued. It was feared that the troops confined in the Tuileries would come to take the combatants by the flank. A *reconnaissance* had been made. Within the railings, there were 3000 infantry, six pieces of cannon in battery, two squadrons of dragoons, without counting the armed guardians, and some Municipal Guards. This force, protected by the railing and the artillery, could, on this large place, if it had been attacked, give rise to a bloody battle; everything was to be feared. A profound silence reigned, and it was only interrupted by the *fusillade* of the Place du Palais Royal, and some musket-shots at the troops within the Chateau. It was learned that the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 6th, and 10th Legions surrounded the Tuileries, and

that the others were on the march. The combat was imminent. It was then that Lieutenant Aubert Roche, advancing towards the railing near the Rue de Rivoli, caused the commandant of the Tuileries to be sent for. That person arrived with great fear. 'You are lost!' cried the lieutenant. 'You are surrounded, and a combat will be engaged, if you do not evacuate the Tuileries, and give them up to the National Guard.'

"The commandant, understanding the position, caused the troops to be ranged in line against the Chateau, without causing them to leave. Before that, they had been drawn up in échelons. Seeing that the movement of retreat was not effected, citizen Aubert Roche, accompanied by the citizen Lesueur, *chef de bataillon* of the canton of Lagny-Rincy, who joined the 5th Legion, ran to the railing of the Rue de Rivoli, knocked, and announced themselves with a flag of truce. The gate was opened, and both of them, unaccompanied, with their swords in their hands, entered into the midst of the court, which was full of soldiers. The commandant of the Tuileries advanced, saying that he had caused the troops to be withdrawn. 'That is not enough,' said the lieutenant; 'the palace must be evacuated; if not, misfortune will happen.' The commandant of the Tuileries then conducted the two officers before the Pavillon de l'Horloge, where stood several generals, and the Duc de Nemours, all with consternation impressed on their faces. 'Monseigneur,' said the commandant of the Tuileries, 'here is an excellent citizen, who will give you the means of preventing the effusion of blood.' 'What must be done?' said the prince, in a trembling voice, to the lieutenant who was presented to him. 'Sir, you must evacuate the palace at this very instant, and give it up to the National Guard; if you do not, you are lost. The combat will be a bloody one; the Tuileries are surrounded; the 5th Legion, of which I form part, is fighting at this moment at the Palais Royal, with its major and superior officers at its head. Take care that the combat does not cease before these troops have left; if not, the battle will be engaged even here, in spite of you.' 'You think so?' replied the duke. 'I will make the troops retire.' And, at the same instant, in presence of two officers of the National Guard, he gave the order to retreat. The artillery went by the railing of

the palace, and the staff and the Duc de Nemours by the Pavillon de l'Horloge, their horses descending the flight of steps. The cavalry followed them, then the infantry. It was even forgotten to relieve the posts who remained. The citizen Aubert Roche charged himself to introduce the National Guard in the palace. He went to warn the National Guards who were then near the staff. The National Guard then put the butt-end of their muskets in the air, and entered the court of the Tuileries by the railing of the Rue de Rivoli, accompanied by the curious, all quite astonished to find themselves masters of the palace. A quarter of an hour after the combat ceased on the Place du Palais Royal, the combatants hastened to attack the Tuileries, but they found the gates opened. Thus was taken, or rather surrendered, the redoubtable fortress. A National Guard made a summons in the name of the armed people, and royalty evacuated the place."

In the Tuileries all objects of art were respected, as well as the furniture and decorations of the apartments appropriated to public purposes, the only exception to this being the harmless indulgence of triumph exhibited in carrying off the throne and bearing it in triumphal procession through the town. When the populace entered, a few of their leaders announced to them rules of conduct, which they willingly accepted.

Such was the end of this great Revolution—the greatest victory, undoubtedly, the Parisians have ever obtained. The people on the day previous were unarmed. They were in the presence of an army of 100,000 of the finest troops in the world, with artillery and stores unlimited in number and amount, congregated in barracks, forts, citadels, nearly impregnable, with the King's name to support them. Those unarmed men defied and withstood charges of cavalry in the largest square of Europe throughout an entire day, and formed barricades, committed no excess, and finally achieved their liberties. Such events and such heroism are only to be equalled by the career and vicissitudes of the superannuated tyrant who attempted to enslave them—who, a week ago, at the head of the noblest nation in Europe, is to-day a fugitive, or swamped in the Channel.

EFFECT ON ENGLAND.

The effect of this mighty Revolution on England it is, of course, impossible yet to predicate. By all classes the intelligence was received with astonishment, and—save, perhaps, by the Court and its adherents, who, in their sympathy for the despot, forgot the blow he lately dealt the Coburg race—it may be added, it was heard with delight. The intermediate ranks, or great body of the people, hailed it with rapture. It had instantly the effect of relieving them from the augmentation of an odious impost which had already prostrated their energies, and whose threatened augmentation would have crushed them to the earth. Though in no degree controlled by public opinion, the ministry deemed it prudent to listen to the dictates of fear, and withdraw a proposition which might otherwise have received the support of a Chamber supposed (in imagination) to represent the community of Britain. The Income-tax was consequently continued at three instead of being raised, as designed, to five per cent. But though the wealthier classes thus directly profited, the great body of the people, and all the unenfranchised, welcomed the new Revolution from higher motives. They felt their own helplessness—perhaps they were ashamed of their own endurance; but though plunged in despair seemingly hopeless, they yet sympathized with freedom in another land, and recognised the debt of gratitude and admiration due to a country which, by breaking its chains, might one day teach them to throw off their own.

From the public journals we gather that the rumour of the abdication of the King of the French reached the House of Commons shortly after four o'clock of the following day, and produced great excitement in the house. For some time after the rumour became known, knots of members clustered at the bar, standing round one who appeared to be retailing the intelligence from a daily journal. Immediately the curiosity of the members assembled at the bar had been gratified, the portion of the paper containing the interesting piece of telegraphic news was torn out, and handed up to the Speaker. At this moment Sir Robert Peel entered the house, and on taking his usual

seat opposite the table, the slip was passed to him. The baronet, thinking, no doubt, that it was an ordinary communication, allowed some minutes to elapse before he looked at it; but no sooner had he glanced over it than he hurried across the floor to the Treasury benches, where the Lords John Russell and Palmerston had just taken their seats, and handed the documents to these two lords, who eagerly devoured its contents. The baronet held a short but evidently animated conversation with the two lords, and then returned to the opposition bench. The excitement which the news created was very great.

Shortly afterwards, a member, Mr. Joseph Hume, arose, and wished, from motives of economy, to ask a question of her Majesty's Ministers, with reference to the recent transactions in France, where the Government, he said, that had heretofore ruled no longer existed, and a new Government was established, (hear, hear.) The question he desired to have reply to was, whether it was the intention of the Ministers that this country should withhold altogether from any interference with the people of France, and that the people should be left to choose for themselves, and settle what government they pleased, so as to afford no ground for the complaint that we had meddled officiously with their affairs, or had constituted ourselves a party to any of their disputes, (loud cries of hear, hear, from all parts of the house.) This was a question to which, if no objection could be urged to it, he was most anxious to have a reply.

The interrogation certainly was not made in terms remarkable for lucidity; still it was the privilege of the member to receive a reply. The Lord John Russell accordingly rose, it is stated, amidst breathless attention, and said—"Sir, I have no objection whatever to make to the question of the hon. member. We have, of course, received the intelligence generally so well known to the public of the changes which have taken place in France, and can assure the house (indeed I could hardly have thought it necessary to make the declaration), that we have no intention whatever to interfere with the form of government which the French nation may choose to adopt, or in any way to meddle with the internal affairs of that country."

"Vehement applause from all parts of the house," (add the

public journals,) "followed this reply." The Republic consequently may breathe with serenity.

On the following day, indeed, a shadow appeared to arise. The existence of the new French Government became a matter of question. Mr. Milnes, another member, the same channels intimate, "asked if the Provisional Government of France had made to any of the Governments of Europe official information of its existence? (a laugh)."

This called up the Lord Palmerston, who said,—"Sir, I have received this morning a despatch from Lord Normanby, inclosing the copy of a communication made by M. de Lamartine, the Minister for Foreign Affairs under the new Government—a communication, a copy of which has been sent to the representatives of all the Governments of Europe, announcing the formation of the present Provisional Government, and declaring, at the same time, that the new form of Government which had been adopted in France would make no alteration in the position of France in Europe (hear, hear), and that the French Government would display the same sincere desire as before of maintaining the most amicable relations with all the powers which may, like France, determine to respect its independence and the rights of nations, (cheers.)"

His lordship, it will be remarked with profound regret, made no declaration of his own or his cabinet's opinion; but, as the English Exchequer is at present low, it is earnestly to be hoped that the Administrators of France will retain their equanimity.

But if no disposition to worship the rising sun be evinced by the gentlemen who have at present secured the management of affairs in Britain, it is consolatory to learn that full attention has been paid to the smaller luminaries who have lately disappeared. The public journals announce that—

"His Royal Highness the Duke de Nemours arrived at the French Embassy, in Manchester-square, last evening (Sunday), at 25 minutes to eight, from the terminus of the South Eastern Railway, at London-bridge, accompanied by the Duke and Duchess Auguste of Saxe-Coburg (Princess Clementine), and Count de Jarnac (the French minister). The Duke, on his arrival at Hertford House, seemed greatly dejected, as he was evidently suffering from

excessive fatigue; and we (the journalist) regret to say, from their escape from the French capital having been the act of a moment, not the slightest luggage was brought, so that in fact none of them possess a change of garment."

"The Countess de Jarnac," continues the report, "the Count Louis de Noailles, and M. de Rabaudy, were assembled in the vestibule to receive the Duke de Nemours and the unfortunate individuals accompanying that prince."

They were not, however, permitted to remain long unconsoled. Her Majesty's consort magnanimously forgot the recent disappointment of his cousin's expectations on the Spanish throne; and, adds the reporter, "the Duke was waited on immediately after his arrival at the embassy by the Duke and Duchess of Saxe-Coburg, and Prince Albert, attended by Baron Fritsch and Lieut.-Col. Wilde.

"The Duke and Duchess of Saxe-Coburg and Prince Albert were instantly conducted to the saloon of the embassy. The meeting was deeply affecting, the Duchess of Saxe-Coburg being painfully overcome by her feelings. The Count and Countess de Jarnac were alone present at the distressing interview, the royal equerries being within call in an ante-room."

The French prince was indeed qualified to excite sympathy, if not compassion. From the narrative of the Court scribe, it should seem, his Royal Highness left his wife in the streets. "On taking their departure," says the writer, "from Paris, the Duke de Nemours went by one route and the Duchess (cousin of the Prince Consort) by another, intending to meet or join the same road at a place appointed. It was not discovered till the Duke reached the coast that the Duchess had not preceded him. It appears now that she was unfortunately left behind."

"As to the exemplary Queen of the deposed Sovereign of France," continues the narrative, "nothing is positively known, but the anxiety respecting that amiable woman is much relieved from the well-known regard in which she was held by the people of France."

Smaller objects, however, share his attention. "The Prefect of Paris," he adds, "arrived in London yesterday from Paris, having made his escape from the capital on Thursday night."

"The Duke de Montebello, the Minister of Marine and

the Colonies, and of course member of the Cabinet under M. Guizot, arrived on Saturday in London, and is staying with the Hon. Francis Charteris, M.P., and Lady Anne Charteris, in Chesham-place. The duke escaped with little difficulty, but in a state of comparative destitution, having no clothing whatever.

"At the French Embassy nothing is known as to the route Louis-Philippe took on his sudden retreat from the Tuileries. It is not believed that the ex-King went to the Chateau d'Eu, as stated. It is thought he had repaired to Belgium.

"M. Duchatel, the Minister of the Interior, was thought to have escaped towards the Belgian frontier, or the south of France, to pass into Italy.

"The Duchess de Coigny, a member of the house of Stair, and consequently a Scotch lady, arrived in Dover-street on Saturday from Paris, having escaped over the walls surrounding the capital. The duchess assumed the disguise of a servant. The duke remains in Paris."

The admirers of royalty will be rejoiced to learn that her Britannic Majesty was equally sedulous for the fate of the illustrious exiles. The sovereign, so dear to England, lost no time in despatching three royal carriages to await their arrival at the railway; but the arrangements made in France frustrated the beneficent intention, and the vehicles yet possibly are waiting. Her mother, the Duchess of Kent, was equally attentive, though the recent government of France so cruelly baulked the hopes of a nephew. The same authority informs us that, "at half-past ten o'clock yesterday morning, the Duchess of Kent arrived at the Embassy, and had a long interview with the Duke de Nemours and his royal relatives. While the Duchess was at the Embassy, the reigning Duchess of Saxe-Coburg arrived from Buckingham Palace to pay a visit to their royal highnesses. It is understood that the object of the visit, both of the Duchess of Kent and the Duchess of Saxe-Coburg was to express the Queen's desire that the Duke and Duchess Auguste of Saxe-Coburg shall make Buckingham Palace their home during their stay in this country. At half-past eleven the Duke de Nemours, and the Duke and Duchess Auguste of Saxe-Coburg left the Embassy in Count Jarnac's carriage, and proceeded to Buckingham

Palace, to pay a visit to the Queen. They remained at the Palace until after one o'clock."

It will be matter of regret to loyal subjects that want of space precludes the insertion of the following court emanation in all the paragraphic distinctness of the original. It has been found imperative to condense many separate paragraphs into one, and thus deprive them of the dignity of typographical impressiveness.

"The anxiety," says the author, "which has been so generally felt as to the fate of the ex-royal family of France is fortunately at an end in so far as regards the Duchess de Nemours, with her youthful family, and the Duke de Montpensier, their Royal Highnesses having arrived at Southampton at an early hour yesterday morning from Havre. A special messenger was despatched to London immediately upon the arrival of their Royal Highnesses, conveying intelligence of the fact to the French Embassy, where he arrived shortly after mid-day. The Duke de Nemours, with his illustrious sister-in-law, the Duchess de Montpensier, having left Hertford House for the Belgian Legation, the Count de Jarnac at once proceeded thither, and communicated to them the gratifying intelligence of the safe arrival of their relatives. The Duke de Nemours was very desirous to go down to Southampton directly, to meet the Duchess; but as this would have involved the necessity of leaving the Duchess de Montpensier, his Royal Highness waived this determination, and two gentlemen, *attachés* to the French and Belgian Legations, were despatched to Southampton to conduct their Royal Highnesses to town. Their Royal Highnesses remained at the Belgian Legation until nearly five o'clock last evening, at which hour they left town for East Sheen, where they will occupy the villa belonging to Mr. Bates (father-in-law of his Excellency, M. Van de Weyer) for the present. M. Van de Weyer accompanied their Royal Highnesses to East Sheen, and subsequently returned to town. His Excellency the Austrian Ambassador called at the Legation during the morning, and was closeted for some time with M. Van de Weyer. As the gentlemen commissioned to attend the Duke de Montpensier and the Duchess de Nemours to town did not leave London until five o'clock last evening, it was not expected their Royal Highnesses

would arrive in town last night, but apartments were prepared for their reception at the residence of the Belgian Legation in the event of their doing so. With respect to the fate of Louis-Philippe and his Queen, not a word of authentic information has yet been received. Great hope is, however, entertained, from the length of time which has elapsed since the ex-King was heard of, that he is with the Queen quietly awaiting on the French coast a favourable opportunity of crossing the Channel. Madame Guizot, the venerable mother of the ex-minister, and his two daughters, arrived in London yesterday. It is said, on good authority, that Claremont, the seat of his Majesty the King of the Belgians, has been prepared for the reception of the ex-royal family. Under this head yesterday, it was stated that M. Van de Weyer had placed his suburban villa at East Sheen at the disposal of the Duke de Nemours. The villa belongs to Mr. Bates, whose daughter M. Van de Weyer married, and it was Mr. Bates who offered his villa to the illustrious exile."

The subjoined, however less divided, may be inserted in all its distinctness; as it relates not only to the ex-royal family of France, but also announces the resignation of the ambassador and suite, as well as shows that the sympathy of Queen Victoria is participated by her Minister, and intimates that the exiled princes have at last deemed it expedient to quit the mansion of the Republic with the late representative of France.

"On inquiry," says the document, "at the French embassy at ten o'clock last night, the answer given was that no authentic information had been received of the fugitive members of the ex-royal family, or the King and Queen.

"Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess Augustus of Saxe-Cobourg came from Buckingham Palace to Hertford House in one of the Queen's carriages, to visit their Royal Highnesses the Duke de Nemours and the Duchess de Montpensier. Their royal highnesses remained until after luncheon with their distressed relatives. His Royal Highness Prince Albert, attended by Colonel Wilde, arrived from the palace in the forenoon, and had an interview of the royal party.

"A courier from Paris arrived at the embassy at half-

past three, P.M., charged with despatches from the Government of France. He was the bearer of a new seal of the Republic of France. The Count de Jarnac, who is accredited minister in the absence of the ambassador, Count Louis de Noailles, secretary, and M. de Rabaudy, have resigned, having declined to act under the Republic. The Count Henri de Bearn left for Paris on Saturday last. The same courier left last evening, at half-past seven, on his return to the French capital, and it is said conveyed the resignation of the official members of the embassy.

"In consequence of the despatches, the Duke de Nemours and the Duchess de Montpensier determined not to pass last night at the embassy, and his Excellency M. Van de Weyer had placed his private residence at Sheen at the disposal of their royal highnesses, and the carriage was at the entrance of the embassy, when M. Van de Weyer returned to apprise their royal highnesses that he had received information of the arrival of a courier from Belgium at Dover, with despatches, and was hourly in expectation of his reaching the Belgian Legation, and the supposition was that he would bring some intelligence of the other members of the royal family. His excellency then suggested to the Duke de Nemours and the Duchess de Montpensier to take up their residence for the night at the Belgian Legation in Portland-place. The offer of his excellency was ultimately accepted.

"Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess Augustus again visited the Duke de Nemours and the Duchess de Montpensier just before the duke and duchess departed for the Belgian Legation, to which residence they removed shortly before ten o'clock.

"The embassy has been literally besieged by the aristocracy throughout the afternoon to pay visits of condolence to the royal fugitives. Lord J. Russell and the whole of the ministers called personally to insert their names in the book kept for that purpose; and Sir R. Peel, the Earl of Aberdeen, the Duke of Devonshire, the Marquis of Ailesbury, and a host of the *élite* of society, far too numerous to obtain insertion in our columns. There were nearly four hundred calls, among them many of the principal members of the *corps diplomatique.*

"There were not any further arrivals of the members of

the late government from France up to a late hour last evening.

"The Duchess de Montpensier appears to bear up wonderfully under the distressing circumstances; and the Duke de Nemours is less dejected than on his arrival in London."

We pass, and the reader will pass without regret, from these records, to the

DEEDS OF THE REPUBLIC.

The first acts of the Provisional Government have already been narrated. Next day the following address, emanating from some leaders of the people, was generally placarded throughout Paris:—

"Wishes of the people.

"Reforms for all!

"A general amnesty, with the exception of the ministers, who are to be put on their trial.

"Right of meeting, consecrated by a manifestation to be made; immediate dissolution of the chamber; and convocation of the *Assemblées Primaires*.

"A city guard, under the orders of the municipality. Abolition of the laws of September. Liberty of speech, of the press, of petition, of association, and of election.

"Election reform. Every National Guard to be an elector and capable of being elected. Parliamentary reform. Salaries to deputies and public functionaries in their proper functions.

"Reform of the Chamber of Peers. No royal nominations or aristocratic inheritance. Administrative reform. Guarantee for all functionaries against the abuse of favours and influences. Property to be respected, but the right to work guaranteed. Work to be assured to the people.

"Union and fraternal associations between the chiefs of manufactories and their workmen. Equality of rights by education to be given to all. Foundling hospitals, asylums, rural and urban schools. No more oppression or infant labour. Liberty of worship. Absolute liberty of conscience. Church independent of state.

"Protection for the feeble, children, and women. Peace and holy alliance amongst nations. Abolition of war, where

the people only serve as food for cannon. Independence for every nationality! France to be guardian of the rights of all weak nations. Order founded on liberty. Universal brotherhood."

And the Government by its acts promptly showed a disposition to comply with this desire, if, indeed, it had not already taken the initiative.

About five o'clock of the afternoon of the 24th, Paris having been for some hours in the complete possession of the people, the following proclamation was issued by the provisional government:—

"Paris, Feb. 24.

"TO THE CITIZENS OF PARIS.

"A great revolution has just been accomplished. In two days public opinion has declared itself with an energy and a unanimity which, we have no hesitation in saying, find no precedent in our history.

"Eighty thousand National Guards are out—upwards of one hundred thousand citizens have taken up arms!

"You are providing for the wants of liberty; but the necessity of order must also be thought of!

"Therefore organize yourselves, form patrols, mingle with the National Guard, unite together the different points of the capital. Whilst waiting until the public powers be reconstituted on their mutual bases, until the men who will undertake the direction of affairs have commenced accomplishing their duty towards you, it is you who guard Paris. Paris has confidence in your patriotism and your devotedness. Above all, let there be no division.

"PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

ARAGO.
DUPONT (de l'Eure).
LAMARTINE.
LEDRU ROLIN.
MARIE.
MARRAST.
LOUIS BLANC.
FERDINAND FLOCON.
ALBERT (a workman)."

With this the fighting entirely ceased, and tranquillity was restored, which was only disturbed by a few inebriated persons who paraded the streets.

On the following day a proclamation was issued for the organization of a moveable National Guard of twenty-four

battalions. This measure relieved the distresses of a great number of virtuous citizens, those inscribing themselves receiving thirty sous a day. Great numbers were speedily enrolled. It is supposed to be the intention of Government to send these battalions to the frontiers of France, on the Rhine and the Alps.

The Castle of Vincennes surrendered this morning, after a slight resistance, and the submission of most of the fortifications around Paris followed or preceded. In one or two instances, the soldiers of the line showed some disposition to hold out in their barracks, but the whole submitted, and the Bank of France was opened in the course of the day.

The following important proclamation produced an impressive effect:—

"FRENCH REPUBLIC.

"*Liberty—Equality—Fraternity.*

"The Provisional Government, convinced that greatness of mind is the supreme policy, and that every revolution effected by the French people owes to the world the consecration of an additional philosophical truth; considering that there is no more sublime principle than the inviolability of human life; considering that, in the memorable days in which we now are, the Provisional Government has ascertained with pride that not a cry of vengeance or death has been uttered by the people, declares that, in its idea, the penalty of death is abolished in political matters, and that it will present this wish to the definite ratification of the National Assembly. The Provisional Government has such a firm conviction of the truth which it proclaims in the name of the French people, that if the guilty men who have just caused the blood of France to flow were in the hands of the people, there would be, in its eyes, a more exemplary chastisement in degrading than in striking them.

"In the name of the French people: Citizens! Monarchy, under whatever form it may have been, is abolished. No more legitimism! No more Bonapartism! No regency! The Provisional Government has taken every measure necessary for rendering impossible the return of the old dynasty, or the accession of any new dynasty. The Re-

public is proclaimed. The people are united. All the forts which surround the capital are ours. The brave garrison of Vincennes is a garrison of brothers. Let us preserve our respect for that old flag of the Republic, whose three colours have made, with our fathers, the tour of the world. Let us show that this symbol of Equality, Liberty, and Fraternity, is at the same time the symbol of order, of the most real and durable order; since justice is its basis, and the entire people its instrument. The people have already comprehended that the supply of Paris with provisions requires a free circulation through the streets, and the hands which raised the barricades have, in several places, made in these barricades openings sufficiently wide for the free passage of carts and waggons. Let this example be everywhere followed. Let Paris re-assume her accustomed aspect, commerce its activity and confidence. Let the people at once watch over the maintenance of their rights, and continue to secure, as they have hitherto done, public tranquillity and safety."

In the midst of these momentous considerations, the Provisional Government showed that the most trivial or unimportant affairs had not escaped its attention. While they were arousing the energies, or providing for the necessities of a nation, the following apparently inconsiderable decree went forth in reference to art:—

"All that appertains to the direction of the Fine Arts and the Museums, and was formerly under the control of the Civil List, will constitute a division of the ministry of the Interior. The jury charged with the reception of pictures at the annual exhibitions will be named by election. The artists will be convoked to this effect by a decree. The exhibition of 1848 will be re-opened on the 15th March."

But it had the effect of evincing the calm and conscious strength of the Government; and a few measures of similar import followed. In the course of the day, M. Ledru-Rollin addressed to the Prefects of Departments a circular, informing them that a Republican government had been formed, and that the nation would be called upon to give it its sanction, and requiring them immediately to inform him of the state of public opinion. All the foreign letters that could not be previously delivered in Paris, owing to the

state of the capital, were at the same time brought to the Post-office, and delivered by order of the authorities.

Next day decrees went forth, showing that the new Government could include the mightiest and most trivial objects in its grasp. "To-morrow," it declared, "the 27th of February, at two o'clock, MM. Arago, Dupont (de l'Eure), Albert (workman), Armand Marrast, Ferdinand Flocon, Lamartine, Marie, Louis Blanc, Cremieux, Ledru-Rollin, Garnier Pages, members of the Provisional Government of the French Republic, will start from the Hotel de Ville to go to the column of July, where will be inaugurated, before the National Guard and the people fraternally united, the grand date of reconquered liberty."

Besides these and other objects, a decree was published in the *Moniteur* reminding the people that the residences belonging to the fallen royalty were now the property of the nation, and would be sold for benefit of the victims of the revolution, as well as paying the damages suffered by trade and labour, and therefore placing those national edifices under the *surveillance* and safeguard of the people. Another decree states, that as the victory gained by the people had thrown great expense on the municipality of Paris for the repairing of streets, the re-construction of municipal edifices destroyed to form barricades, the support of families of citizens who died in the cause of liberty, and to insure to the working classes work and bread; the present octroi duties, which are almost the only source of the revenue of Paris, shall be continued till they can be revised and modified by the representatives of the nation. A third decree (from the Postmaster-General) states that the communication by post has now been opened with all the departments, and that it will be continued regularly, not only to all parts of the Republic, but to foreign countries; and two other decrees appoint citizen Thiery, with the aid of citizens Voillemier and Dumon, to superintend the hospitals of Paris, and citizen Dumoulin to be provisional commandant of the Louvre.

The *Moniteur* also contained a more explicit decree relative to the organization of the National Guard *mobile*. There are, it states, to be 24 battalions, two for each of the 12 arrondissements of Paris; each battalion will consist of eight companies, and each company will be formed of 131

men; so that the total force of the battalion, including 10 officers, will be 1,058 men. Their age must be between 16 and 30. The non-commissioned officers and corporals are to be elected by the men in each company: the election will take place when 60 men are formed in each company. The captains, lieutenants, and sub-lieutenants, are to be taken from amongst the citizens who offer themselves, by the men, under the presidentship of the mayor of the arrondissement, in conformity with the laws regulating the elections of the National Guard. The adjutants and quartermasters are to be provisionally borrowed from the lieutenants of the line, as will the other officers demanding great activity and knowledge of military business. The pay of each private is to be 1f. 50c. a day. The same sum is to be given to the corporals and non-commissioned officers, seeing that it is an indemnity, and not the payment of an employment. To each man of every rank will be allowed a first indemnity of 20f., held in reserve for his linen and shoes. The drummers are, in addition, to receive the daily indemnity given in the regiments of the line for their drum. The pay of the officers is to be in proportion to their rank, according to laws and ordonnances concerning the infantry of the line. The uniform is to be that of the other part of the National Guard, and the arms those of the line. Officers of every rank are to receive an indemnity for outfit of 300f. The whole of these men can be called on to march (as their name implies) from Paris at any moment, and each man must engage to serve at least a year and a day.

The following manifesto of the Provisional Government was read, amidst the acclamations of the populace, in front of the Hotel de Ville, on Saturday:—

"Citizens,—The Provisional Government of the Republic calls upon the people as witnesses of the gratitude they feel for the sublime national concourse which comes to accept these new institutions. (Loud applause from the crowd and the National Guard.)

"The Provisional Government of the Republic have none but the most happy news to announce to the people assembled.

"Royalty is abolished.

"The Republic is proclaimed.

"National *ateliers* for work are opened for workmen without hire. (Immense applause.)

"The army is now being re-organized. The National Guard joins the people in the most indissoluble manner, so as to re-establish order immediately, with that very hand which has just conquered liberty. (Fresh applause.)

"In short, gentlemen, the Provisional Government was desirous of offering you themselves the last decree they have deliberated on, and signed in this ever-memorable sitting, the abolition of the penalty of death in political matters. (Bravo! Bravo!) It is the finest decree, gentlemen, which has hitherto been pronounced by the lips of a people on the morrow of their victory. (Yes, yes.) It is the character of the French nation, which escapes in one spontaneous cry from the soul of their government. (Yes, yes! Bravo!) We bear it to you. I am about to read it to you. There does not exist a more worthy homage to be presented to a people than the spectacle of their own magnanimity."

M. de Lamartine, who spoke on the occasion, added:—

"Citizens! the Provisional Government of the Republic calls the people to witness its gratitude for that magnificent national co-operation which has just accepted these new institutions. (Loud acclamations.) The Provisional Government of the Republic has only happy news to announce to the assembled people. Royalty is abolished; the Republic is proclaimed; the people will exercise their political rights; national workshops are opened to such workmen as have no wages. (Immense cheering.) The army is being reorganized; the National Guard unites indissolubly with the people to promptly establish order, with the same hand that has just achieved liberty. (Cheers.) In fine, gentlemen, the Provisional Government has been anxious to itself to bring to you the last decree which it has just signed—namely, the abolition of death for political matters. (Bravo! bravo!) It is, gentlemen, the noblest decree that ever emanated from the mouth of a people the day after its victory. (Yes, yes, and cheers.) It is the character of the French people, which escapes in a single cry from the soul of its Government. (Renewed cheering.) There is no more worthy homage to the people than the spectacle of its own magnanimity."

Stupendous cheering followed this manifestation, and it continued so long from the immense crowd which covered the open space in front of the Hotel de Ville, that M. Dupont (de l'Eure), the president of the provisional government, was obliged to appear on the balcony, leaning on the arm of M. Louis Blanc, and followed by his colleagues, and accompanied by a number of citizens, National Guards, and pupils of the schools; the applause then became deafening, and extended to the neighbouring streets. He briefly declared, "We shall not make any comment on this act. France and Europe will here behold a striking testimony to the sentiments which direct the French Republic. We are not aware of any better reply to the false accusations against democracy. We cannot flatter ourselves to shut the mouths of calumniators, but the calumny comes to nothing."

In the course of this day, M. O. Barrot and his political friends, M. Thiers and the men who marched under his colours, MM. Billault, Dufaure, and the few soldiers of their little battalion, met twice to come to some understanding on the conduct to be followed in the existing circumstances; and it was decided unanimously that the men of the *tiers parti*, the left centre, and the left, whose plan the late events had gone far beyond, would give, without restriction, their co-operation to the new government. Marshal Bugeaud, whose recent attitude had been so striking, shortly afterwards gave in his adherence. He was the first marshal to submit to the new Government, and it is said that only three general officers in the whole army then withheld their allegiance. All the admirals of the navy in Paris, without the exception of even Admiral de Mackau, also signified their submission to the Provisional Government in a letter couched in the most flattering terms, which they delivered to M. Arago.

Other documents by the heads of different divisions of the Government were dispatched to the respective departments. The Minister of War addressed the following circular to the commanding officers of military divisions and subdivisions:—

"Paris, Feb. 26.

"General—A great national act has just been accomplished: royalty has disappeared before the sovereignty of

the people. All good citizens, all men of sound feeling, ought to rally round the Provisional Government of the Republic. The generals in command of divisions and subdivisions will therefore assemble the troops under their command, will proclaim at their head the new Government, and will call forth a manifestation of their adhesion. They will afterwards transmit without delay to the Minister of War documents declaratory of their adhesion. The generals will besides employ all the means in their power to maintain discipline amongst the troops; they will see that their wants are regularly provided for; and they will give all the necessary orders for that purpose. They will concert with the administrative authorities, in order that public order may be respected, and to that end they will seek support from the National Guard, to whom is more particularly confided the task of defending our public liberties. The Government counts that the army, faithful to its duties, will always remain in the path of honour. You will acknowledge the receipt of the present circular, the execution of which I confide to your patriotism.

"SUBERVIC."

The subjoined was issued by the Municipality of Paris:—

"Citizens—The victory of the people imposes great expenses on the Municipality of Paris. To repave the streets in order that circulation may be re-established; to reconstruct the municipal edifices destroyed to serve for barricades; to come to the help of the families of citizens dead for the cause of liberty; to secure labour and bread for the working classes; such are the expenses which must be immediately incurred. The principal, almost the only, revenue of Paris, consists in its octroi duties. This impost must be levied; it will be shortly, it must be, modified in a manner to render it less heavy on the working classes; but until your representatives shall be able to occupy themselves with maturity with this grave question, it is necessary, if we do not desire that all the services shall be embarrassed, that the present duties shall be levied. We adjure, then, all good citizens to lend their co-operation to the *employés* charged with this levy, to aid them to cause a tax destined to maintain the defenders of the people to be protected."

Though not official, the following extract from the *National* may be deemed important; the editor of that journal (M. Marrast) being a member of the Government, and having throughout been one of the souls of the Revolution. It is intended to explain the external relations of the republic, and is their first development:—

"It is useful to examine the situation of the French republic with respect to foreign powers. Never have the relations of nations been so close, never ought the counter-blows to be so deeply felt in the west, and never have any blows been struck with greater violence than that which has just carried off the dynasty of Orleans, and, with it, the monarchy. France, contemplated at present with admiration and astonishment by nations, will become their guiding light from the moment that the new republic shall have surmounted the difficulties which encompass it. Amongst these difficulties are the foreign relations. Three alternatives are possible:—Shall we be attacked? Shall we attack? or, lastly, shall we remain in an expectant state? First of all, shall we be attacked? It is only necessary to cast a glance over Europe to comprehend how unlikely that is. Let us take one by one the three northern powers, those to whom the event of our three days will be the most displeasing, and let us see what they can really do against us. Austria has in the face of her the whole of Italy, which is arming, and preparing for the struggle, and which, if there was a war against us, would be a powerful auxiliary to France. An Austrian army occupies Lombardy, and Lombardy at each instant menaces her oppressors with an insurrection. On the flank of Austria, and stretching forth the hand to Italy, is Switzerland—radical, victorious over the Sonderbund, and wholly devoted to the popular cause. There, from the summit of her mountains, as from the top of an impregnable fortress, she would disquiet and impede any military demonstration on the part of Austria, and would render the situation perilous. Austria has plenty to do to maintain her *status quo*, and, consequently, it is improbable that she will first give the signal of battle. The great German power, Prussia, is not certainly in the presence of an Italy calling for arms to maintain her liberty; but she has not the advantage of being free in her movements. Who is there that is not aware how much revolu-

tionary and social ideas have advanced in Germany? and who does not foresee what an impulse they will receive from the triumph obtained by Paris? The Prussian government is about to find itself in presence of the increasing exigencies of that assembly which it consults, and of German public opinion, of which the voice becomes every day louder and louder. On what grounds could it decide the Germans to invade our provinces, and to wage war on us when we do nothing to them? We are satisfied with our power, glorious of the example which we are giving to the world, proud of the sacrifices which we are making for general civilization; and we only ask to resolve amongst ourselves the difficult problems which arise. Never on such conditions will Germany be induced to come against us.

"Russia then remains, lying far away in the north. But what can she do, if she is deprived of Germany? And besides, is she not occupied enough in keeping down Poland, which has not renounced her claim to nationality, and which will soon gather hope from the cry that has burst forth on the banks of the Seine? Let us, therefore, allow to vanish like a phantom these plans of coalition against us; and let not our ideas in that respect be troubled by any remembrance of 1814 and 1815. Then, by the most disastrous of mistakes, we had for adversaries, besides the kings, our natural enemies, the populations, who, in exasperation at the conquests of Napoleon, precipitated themselves on us. At present, nothing is more clear than our position; we are friends of the populations, and the populations know it—the kings will not succeed in deceiving any one in so manifest a matter. Shall we attack? That would be a capital fault; and thereby we should afford a pretext for all kinds of calumnies. The reminiscences of the past would be turned against us; our ambition would be pointed to; our spirit of conquest would be accused; the chord of national pride would be touched; and soon we should be misrepresented in the minds of the nations, which are at present so much in favour of France, and so confident in her. The fatal dissensions which brought about the fall of the empire would be renewed, and the fraternity of nations would be broken. An expectant state, therefore, is the course which it is important

for us to follow; it is the policy which will save our interests and those of Europe. We shall in that state behold events proceeding—we shall recognise amongst the nations those which have the greatest tendency to renew their social state, and we shall not in any way, by an inopportune intervention of ideas, trouble the work which is enfranchising them. Our example, our moral support, are sufficient to modify Europe; our arms would only serve to retard this modification, and interrupt its regular course. But there is a case in which, of all necessity, it would be necessary to quit an expectant state;—and that would be, if Austria, not confining herself to remaining on the defensive, should of herself attack and invade Italy. Whether she marches on Tuscany, Rome, or Naples, or sends forces against Piedmont, the French republic would be under a strict obligation to oppose that act of aggression and violence, and offer to Italy the aid of an army and a fleet. Not that we consider the Italians as weak and incapable of defending themselves, but the struggle would be doubtful, and it is important that it should not be so. They must permit their friends in France to share their dangers, and to pay to Italy a debt of gratitude for all the blood which the Italians have shed in the French ranks."

The following important announcement has been put forth in another recognised paper, the *Commerce*:—

"Paris is revolutionized. The republican *regime* is proclaimed. A Provisional Government has taken the direction of the popular movement. Now let Paris watch over the maintenance of its conquests, with its hundred thousand muskets, its cannon, and its barricades. Let the departments be thought of. Later we will think of the foreigner. The departments all follow the sublime movement of Paris. But there are in the departments, at the head of divers offices, men clever in deceit, who will feign to adopt the republican *regime*, and yet nurse in their hearts culpable sympathies; yesterday courtiers of monopoly, they would make themselves the courtiers of the people. New men are wanting for a new state of things.

"The government will therefore send immediately into each department a commissioner of the Provisional Government to revolutionize the department—that is to say, to a change of men and systems, and bring into that public

contempt in which they had lived, the men of corruption and abuses; to re-establish everywhere, upon large foundations, the reign of justice, good faith, and popular virtue."

At two o'clock, on Sunday, M. Arago, Dupont, (de l'Eure,) M. Albert, M. Marrast, M. Flocon, M. Lamartine, M. Louis Blanc, M. Crémieux, M. Ledru Rollin, and M. Garnier Pages, Members of the Provisional Government of the French Republic, went from the Hotel de Ville to the Column of July, where, before the National Guard and the people, fraternally united, they inaugurated the great date of liberty re-conquered, and proclaimed the Republic. The National Guard, which consisted of two battalions of each of the twelve legions of Paris, the 13th legion of cavalry, and the four legions of the suburbs, was ranged in order of battle from the Madeleine to the Bastille, where there was an immense crowd. During the ceremony of the inauguration, the patriotic song of the "Marseillaise" was sung by the National Guard and the people, accompanied by repeated cries of, "Vive la République!" The citizen troops assembled on this occasion in immense numbers, to testify by their presence their approval and support of the Provisional Government. The appearance of the cavalry was magnificent, and, added to the regular legions of infantry, in *grande tenue*, a most imposing sight. The aspect of the newly-organized part of the force was, as might be expected, less satisfactory as a military spectacle. These volunteers, however, made up for their want of discipline by heartiness and zeal, and handled their arms with a zest and dexterity which seemed literally to prove the adage, that "*Tout Français est né soldat.*" About three o'clock, all the legions filed off before the column of July, to the cries of "Vive la République!" and to the spirit-stirring strains of the "Marseillaise," and the chorus of the "Girondins." The members of the Provisional Governments, preceded by a detachment of the National Guard, with some officers, and surrounded by a number of pupils of the Polytechnic School, and of the military School of St. Cyr, then proceeded to descend the Boulevards, followed by all the National Guard. They were greeted with enthusiastic cries of "Vive le Gouvernement!" and there were also equally fervid shouts of "Vive Lamartine!" "Vive Arago!" "Vive Louis Blanc," &c. Immense

masses of spectators lined both sides of the Boulevards, and all the windows of the houses, as the National Guards marched along, accompanied by a vast crowd. For hours in this order they defiled, the National Guards and the volunteers chanting the "Marseillaise," and other patriotic airs, while the chorus was taken up by the spectators. The effect thus produced was most imposing, several thousand voices at intervals keeping up the burden of the songs. In the morning it had rained in torrents, and a tempest raged all night; but these proverbial depressors of their spirits had on this occasion no power over the enthusiasm of the French.

Many important decrees have followed. One of the most recent and momentous is a proclamation in the *Moniteur*, containing twelve enactments:—

The First—After promising an abolition, at some future period, of all taxes affecting food, continues as a temporary measure all the present imposts, without exception, and calls on all good citizens to pay their taxes. The same decree promises that the Provisional Government will present to the National Assembly a Bill for the abolition of the stamp on newspapers, the *octroi*, and the salt tax, and will modify all other taxes. 2. *Abolishes all titles of nobility.* 3. Annuls all condemnations for political offences against the late dynasty. 4. Proclaims freedom to all religions, and calls on the clergy to make use of the formula *Deus salvam fac Rempublicam.* 5. Places the Palace of the Luxembourg at the disposal of M. Louis Blanc and M. Albert, as President and Vice-President of the Commission with respect to the rights of workmen. 6. Promotes Major-General Cavaignac, the new Governor-General of Algeria, to the rank of General of Division. 7. Promotes Colonel Brice to the rank of Major-General. 8. Dissolves the Municipal Council of Paris. 9. Forbids the distribution of placards or notices without the name of the printer. 10. Places the Petit Luxembourg at the disposal of M. Dupont (de l'Eure), the President of the Provisional Government. 11. Appoints M. A. Barbes, Governor of the Luxembourg. 12. Restores the rank of Generals of Division and Generals of Brigade.

The decree for the abolition of nobility may be deemed interesting to England. It is couched in the following terms:—

319492

"FRENCH REPUBLIC.

"LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY.

"The Provisional Government, considering that equality is one of the great principles of the French Republic, and that it ought, in consequence, to be immediately carried into effect, decree as follows:—

"All the ancient titles of nobility are abolished, and the qualifications which were attached thereto are prohibited. They cannot be used publicly, or figure in any public document whatever.

Signed by "DUPONT DE l'EURE,
"LAMARTINE,
"L. BLANC,
"GARNIER PAGES,
"ARAGO,
"ALBERT,
"CREMIEUX,
"MARRAST,
"FLOCON,
"MARIE,
"LEDRU ROLLIN,
"Members of the Provisional Government."

Marshals Soult, Molitor, Sebastiani, Bugeaud, Reille, and Dode de la Brunerie; Generals St. Yon, (M. Guizot's colleague in the War Department,) Fabvier Schramm, Aupick, late Governor of Paris, Grouche, Preval, Montholon, Feuchères, Oudinot, Achard, Gourgaud, Lahitte, Paixhans, &c., have all signified their acquiescence in this decree, and have sent in their adhesion to the new Government. M. la Rochejaquelin, a name illustrious even in aristocracy, and immortalized in struggles for the ancient *regime*, has concurred, and addressed a letter to the Provisional Government, declaring that he acquiesces, "without any mental reservation," his motto being—"*Le Pays avant tout.*" Some Bonapartists, Legitimists, and Orleanists attempted an appeal to the people in the streets, and mounted their party cockades, but they were everywhere received with derision and treated with most contemptuous indifference. Louis Napoleon, the adventurer of Strasburg and Boulogne, who had arrived in Paris to proffer his services to the new authorities, has consequently returned

to London; but Jerome Bonaparte and the other members of his family, who have merely claimed restoration of their civil rights, remain.

It need scarcely be added that these acts have been eminently successful in the restoration of order and consolidation of the new commonwealth. Even the *Journal des Debats*, the organ of the late dynasty, has been constrained, by the force of truth, to make this admission, and has already indeed deemed it expedient to support the Provisional Administration. In a recent article, it thus describes the present state of the capital:—

"The shops are everywhere re-opened, and Paris again presents its ordinary appearance. One feeling alone animates the mind of every citizen; the wish to lend their co-operation for the maintenance of order and respect for public liberty. For our part we have dismissed from our heart every bitter or hostile feeling. We will not separate ourselves from our country; we only express our wishes for its glory and for its happiness. Above all systems, there are fundamental principles which must be inviolably maintained. Society owes to the members of which it is composed, security for persons, respect for property, and liberty of labour. In these, our modern times, it owes them something more. Great and immortal principles have been acquired, at least by our long revolutions. Liberty of conscience, freedom of discussion, are become as necessary to us as the air we breathe. It is to those social and political principles that no honest man will ever refuse his support, his devotedness, and, if necessary, sacrifice his life. What we now say, the whole of Paris at this moment practises. Citizens, without distinction of class, without recrimination, without mental reservation, labour, with the most honourable unanimity, in re-establishing confidence. These efforts, we hope from our soul, will not be fruitless. There is another point on which every one will be agreed. We desire the maintenance of peace, of that peace which we always regard as one of the finest conquests of our civilization. Foreign nations will find us united. War, if it should burst out, will form one mass of all the forces of France. We shall be as one man to defend our nationality, the territory, the honour, and the rank of our country in the world. There is not a Frenchman who does

not, above everything, desire that France should be free, that she should be glorious and respected. Let no one hope to find divisions amongst us! We have united to maintain internal order; with how much more reason shall we unite to oppose an invincible barrier to any attempts which may be made against our independence—independence, the first of blessings for a great people! We express these sentiments with pleasure, because we know that they live in the hearts of all our fellow-citizens, and that they put us in accord with all parties. God knows we seek for nothing that may disunite, but the contrary. We shall be always happy, if France is great and free!"

A brief description of the great men by whose energies these vast ameliorations have in a few days been achieved, will be interesting. A recent French publication, *Biographie des Députés*, informs us:—

"M. Dupont (de l'Eure), the new President of the Council (deputy for Evreux), is highly esteemed for his virtue by the French people. At the elections of 1842, M. Dupont, indignant at seeing the deputies of the Eure servilely voting in favour of the execrated Guizot Ministry, contested four colleges of that department simultaneously; he was elected in all four, and chose Evreux. The votes of M. Dupont need not be pointed out; he invariably voted against the corrupt and dishonest Administration which has fallen with the King, its protector.

M. Crémieux, the Provisional Minister of Justice (deputy for Chinon), was a formidable opponent of the late Ministry. He exposed all its vices and its weaknesses. He demanded, on the discussion of the game law (originated in the Peers), the suppression of the article which exempts the crown lands from the severe provisions of that enactment; but, although successful in the Deputies, the Upper Chamber restored the obnoxious clause. M. Crémieux's parliamentary career has been one of the most important and honourable; and, in short, he was a leading member of the Opposition.

M. Arago is one of the first *savans* in France, and his reputation as an orator is scarcely less brilliant. He was born in 1786, and is perpetual secretary of the Academy of Sciences, member of the Office of Longitudes, and the most illustrious scientific man of the age. In politics, M. Arago

is an excellent patriot, a sworn enemy of privileges and monopoly, and an ardent defender of the rights of the people. He voted against the Pritchard indemnity bill, and has ever supported all the measures of the *Gauche*, although he goes much further, and belongs to the extreme *Gauche*. He is now Provisional Minister of Marine.

M. de Lamartine, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, is as famous in the republic of letters as his colleague, M. Arago, in the department of science. He represents Macon, and his political opinions have been freely and copiously expressed in his newspaper, *Le Bien Public*, published in that town. He is everywhere a poet, even at the tribune. Like all poets, he is said to be somewhat inconstant, but the elevation of his soul secures him against the greatest dangers of versatility. M. de Lamartine for a length of time occupied a very undecided position in the Chamber, but he eventually ranged himself on the side of the Opposition. The day on which he announced his intention of joining the camp of the *Gauche* was as gloomy an one for the Ministry as the memorable desertion of the Treasury Bench of the English House of Commons by the great Burke. From that period M. de Lamartine took a decided part in favour of progressive reform, and ridiculed the Guizot Cabinet as the Ministry of "limitations." He voted against the Pritchard indemnity, and was prized by the Opposition as an invaluable acquisition.

M. Ledru Rollin, the provisional Minister of the Interior, was elected for Mans, *vice* the late M. Garnier Pages. His speech to the electors subjected him to a prosecution on the part of the Government, and the trial of the case produced a great sensation. M. Rollin represents the ultra-Radical interest; and has often attacked, not only M. Guizot, but also the policy of such men as Thiers and Odillon Barrot. He sits on the extreme Left, and has defended at the tribune, with vigour and talent, the opinions advocated by *La Reforme* newspaper.

M. Carnot, the new Minister of Public Instruction (including the administration of religious affairs), was born in 1801, and is a son of the famous conventionalist of that name. He is a devoted partisan of the democratic ideas, and belongs to the extreme Left. He voted against the Pritchard indemnity bill, and for M. Remusat's project of

parliamentary reform; "he would," says the authors of the work, writing in 1846, "support a large and complete reform, which would have the effect of restoring sincerity to the Government, and all their rights to the citizens."

The other members of the Provisional Government, having not been included in the list of Deputies to the late legislative Chamber of France, are unmentioned; but the principles which animate them are those of their great associates.

A great foreign nation, whose voice may be compared to posterity's, has already done them justice. The American ambassador immediately attended and acknowledged the Provisional Government.

The following details of the interview are taken from the *National*:—

"To-day, at 2 o'clock, the Répresentative Minister from the United States, Mr. Richard Rush, went to the Hôtel de Ville, in formal recognition of the Provisional Government. It was appropriate to the representative of the American Union to be the first to welcomé our infant Republic, for there is no bond more powerful between nations than community of sentiment. The step taken by the Minister of the United States has, under existing circumstances, serious importance; although fully awaited, it has touched acutely the members of the Provisional Government, and after an interview in which were exchanged the noblest expressions, they, in a body, accompanied this representative of a great nation to the threshold of the Hôtel de Ville, as a proof of the cordial affection which must ever exist between the American and French republics.

"Mr. R. Rush thus expressed himself:—'Gentlemen,—As representative of the United States, charged with care of the rights and interests of my country, and of my fellow-citizens residing in France, and being at too great a distance to await instructions, I seize the earliest opportunity of offering my congratulations, persuaded that my Government will approve the step, of which I have taken the initiative. I must not omit to remind you that the alliance and friendship which have so long united France and the United States is unimpaired. I am certain that a loud and universal expression of hope will arise in my country for the prosperity, happiness, and glory of France under the institutions which she has now inaugurated in conformity with the will

of the nation. Americans have an ardent hope that under the wisdom of France these institutions will have for the whole human race results, of which the magnanimous conduct of the people in the late events afford a happy presage. Under similar institutions the United States have enjoyed for seventy years an increasing prosperity, with a Government of uninterrupted stability; and if the Union invariably leaves to other countries a free choice of Government, without any interference, it will naturally feel gratified in seeing another great nation flourish under institutions which have assured to themselves the benefits of social order and public liberty.

" 'Permit me, Gentlemen, to employ the words of the great and excellent Washington, the immortal founder of our Republic, used by him on a similar occasion to the present, and to terminate this address by adding to my congratulations the earnest hope that the friendship of the two Republics may be co-extensivewith their duration.

"'M. Arago replied, that the members of the Government received without surprise, but with lively pleasure, the sentiments expressed by the Ambassador of the United States; France expected no less from an ally with whom she placed herself in more intimate relations by the proclamation of a Republic. 'The Provisional Government,' he added, 'thanks you for the good wishes you entertain for the greatness and prosperity of France. It is delighted to re-echo the words of Washington, and it has a firm reliance that these words will not only be a desire, but a reality.' "

Several representatives of foreign states have followed the American Ambassador's example. The Austrian Ambassador, we learn from a journal, was to have given a splendid ball on the Wednesday evening preceding the late dynasty's overthrow, and the most extensive preparations were made. "But who," adds the journalist, "could think of such a mode of passing the evening, when blood had already been shed in profusion before M. Guizot's hotel? The whole of the articles furnished for the supper were sent next day by his Excellency to the public hospitals, and other charitable institutions."

Still, it is from this quarter that hostilities will flow. The example of self-liberated France can scarcely fail to arouse a like flame in Italy. Austria will march its hordes to crush

Liberty's rising spirit. The Government of France is bound to intervene; and a struggle will arise, which may inundate Europe with blood, but must in the end establish the cause of freedom.

From the people of England, whatever be the disposition of officials, the new Republic will have no opposition to encounter. Though restrained, the inhabitants of Britain view the rising commonwealth with sympathetic admiration; and despite the efforts of tyranny's minions to engender animosity, the impulse is reciprocal.

It only remains to be added, in conclusion, that the new government of France has already proclaimed the inviolability of national faith, and even adopted the financial engagements of its predecessors. In the hour of victory greater moderation and magnanimity have never been exhibited to the world; and it may be hoped that as they excite unalloyed admiration now, they will raise a like emotion in ages yet unborn.

POSTSCRIPT.

Friday Evening, March 3rd.

Since the above was written, intelligence has been promulgated by the English Lords of the Admiralty of Louis-Philippe, his wife, and minister's (Guizot) arrival on the British shores. They will be received with sedulous attention by the Government; but by the people, it is recommended, with that silence which forms a lesson so impressive for kings.

T. C. Savill, Printer, 4, Chandos-street, Covent-garden.